A COLONIAL SCOTTISH JACOBITE FAMILY

EDGAR ERSKINE HUME

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ARMS OF HUME OF WEDDERBURN

(Painted by Mr. Graham Johnston, Heraldic Artist to the Lyon Office). The arms are thus recorded in the Public Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland (Court of the Lord Lyon King of Arms): Quarterly, first and fourth, Vert a lion rampant Argent, armed and langued Gules, for Hume; second Argent, three papingoes Vert, beaked and membered Gules, for Pepdie of Dunglass; third Argent, a cross engrailed Azure for Sinelair of Herdmanston and Polwarth. Crest: A unicorn's head and neck couped Argent, collared with an open crown, horned and maned Or. Mottoes: Above the crest: Remember; below the shield: True to the End. Supporters: Two falcons proper. End. Supporters: Two falcons proper.

A COLONIAL SCOTTISH JACOBITE FAMILY

THE ESTABLISHMENT IN VIRGINIA OF A BRANCH OF THE HUMES of WEDDERBURN

Illustrated by Letters and Other Contemporary Documents

By

EDGAR ERSKINE HUME M. A., M. D., LL. D., Dr. P. H.

Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Member of the Virginia and Kentucky Historical Societies



OLD DOMINION PRESS RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 1931

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THIS BEING 100

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BY
EDGAR ERSKINE HUME

DEDICATED
TO MY PARENTS
E. E. H., 1844-1911
AND
M. S. H., 1858-1915



"My fathers that name have revered on a throne; My fathers have fallen to right it.

Those fathers would scorn their degenerate son,
That name should he scoffingly slight it "

-Burns.

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PREFACE

THE causes that lead up to the quitting of one's native land for a distant and all but unknown shore, must of need be The desire for the right of free worship, the hope of acquiring a fortune, the longing for escape from a life of ill-repaid toil, all played their parts in peopling the English colonies of North America. But the purely political causes of emigration are less well known. Britain's transportation of prisoners, particularly those who had borne arms against the Hanovarian succession, sent many a brave soldier to the plantations there to succeed or fail according to his abilities and Something of the romance which attaches to the Jacobite cause, reached Virginia with these unfortunate men. Many Virginians, keeping alive the Cavalier spirit which had held the colony loyal to King Charles during the Cromwellian wars and earned for her the title The Old Dominion from Charles II, received the Jacobites kindly, and secretly felt that their cause was one of justice.

Rare it is that these, or indeed any colonists, were able long to keep in touch with their families and friends at home, and still rarer for the record of such communication to be preserved. The letters and other documents that are quoted in the narrative which follows, are in the opinions of many Virginia historians, unique in their completeness and extent. An attempt has here been made to use them as the warp in weaving this story of the establishment of a Colonial branch of an old Scottish Border family. It is a chapter of family history rather than a genealogy, and seeks to describe the confused events leading up to the participation by the head of the family in the Jacobite Rising of 1715, and the yet more complex circumstances attending the alteration of the succession to his lands.

The sketch might have been extended greatly. Only the most brief space could be given to the history of this family prior to the eighteenth century, though a glance at the comprehensive bibliography will suffice to indicate how much more might have been added. Similarly to trace the fortunes of the descendants of the earliest Colonial members of that family is beyond the scope of this account. The descendants of the first

of the family in Virginia, the Jacobite prisoner who reached Yorktown in 1716, live in Scotland. The numerous descendants of the nephew of that Jacobite, he who came in 1721, live in many parts of the United States, and the task of recording their lives must fall to others.

Acknowledgment of invaluable assistance, during the last twenty years, in gathering the materials for this account is gratefully made to the officials of the Library of Congress, the British Museum, the Parliamentary Library of Canada, the Office of the Lord Lyon, the Virginia State Library, the New York Public Library, the Newberry Library, the Virginia and Kentucky Historical Societies, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the College of William and Mary, the County Clerks of nearly all of the older counties of Virginia and Kentucky, and to many interested persons the list of whom, unfortunately, is too long to record here. The sketch appeared serially in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography for 1930 (Volume XXXVIII), and its reproduction, with additions and corrections, has been permitted by the Virginia Historical Society.

EDGAR ERSKINE HUME.

Headquarters of the Infantry School Fort Benning, Georgia October 1, 1930

A COLONIAL SCOTTISH JACOBITE FAMILY

Establishment in Virginia of a Branch of the Humes of Wedderburn.

"It was a' for our rightfu' King
We left fair Scotland's strand . . .
My love and native land farewell
For I maun cross the main."

The Farewell—Burns.

N Saturday, October 13, 1716, the ship Elizabeth & Anne, of Liverpool, arrived in Yorktown, Virginia, bringing one hundred and twelve unfortunate Scotsmen whose names appeared in the ship's papers as "Rebel Prisoners". Twenty-nine of the prisoners were under indentures and the remaining eighty-three were not indented, to use the terms of the passenger list. The list is certified by the master and on the back is indorsed:

VIRGINIA By His Majesty's Lieutenant Governor & Commander in Chief of this Dominion.

These are to certify that the above list of one hundred & twelve Rebel Prisoners Imported into this Colony in the Ship Elizabeth & Anne of Liverpool, Edward Trafford, Master, was taken (by my order) uppon the arrival of the said ship in York River by the Officers of the Customs there and contains the Names of all the Prisoners Imported in the sd. ship & that besides the said one hundred and twelve persons the Master did Report that one other Prisoner by name Duncan Mackfale died at sea which upon Examination of the other prisoners appeared to be true. Given under my hand at Williamsburg this 24th day of January 1716 [1716-17].¹ (Cal. of State Papers of

The dates are of course of the "Old Style" or Julian calendar. The year began on March 25 so that January came after October, which explains the apparent discrepancy, as Francis Hume reached Virginia in October 1716. The double dates for the period of the year between January 1 and March 25 were used until 1752 when Great Britain adopted the "New Style" or Gregorian calendar. The date 24 January 1716-17, Old Style is 1717 New Style.

Va., I, p. 185, Ms. in Va. State Libr. Cf. Scottish Notes and Queries, 3d Ser., Vol. IV, p. 187, Oct., 1926).

The twentieth name of the list of the prisoners is that of Francis Hume, formerly of Quixwood, in the county of Berwick, Scotland, advocate, and younger brother of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet.

Six years later the nephew of this Francis Hume, George, second son of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet, also came to Virginia as a result of his having, like his father and uncle, been convicted as a rebel. These members of an ancient Scottish Border family had been, to use the Scottish expression, "out in the Rising of 1715" and had fought in the Army of Kling James "to put the auld Stuarts back again". Let us review briefly the story of this short and futile campaign.

A year after King James VII of Scotland and II of England was driven from Britain by his son-in-law, Prince William of Orange (1688), Parliament passed the celebrated Bill of Rights, the full title of which was, "An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown". This important law set forth the circumstances of James's "abdication" and the consequent vacancy of the Crown, and settled the succession on the Prince and Princess of Orange (William and Mary), after them, failing issue, to Princess Anne and thereafter, failing her issue, to the descendants of Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James VI and I. Thus Prince James Francis Edward, son of James VII and II by his second marriage, was passed over on account of his Catholic faith. This unfortunate prince, later known as James VIII and III to his followers and as the "Old Pretender" to the adherents of the House of Hanover, was frequently called the Chevalier de Saint George, a title conferred on him by the Pope and which was used by both parties when desiring not to offend members of the other.

All of Queen Anne's children having died before her, the succession passed under terms of the Bill of Rights, to the Elector of Hanover as eldest male descendant of Elizabeth,

daughter of James I, and he ascended the throne of Great Britain as George I. Towards the end of her life, Queen Anne was known at heart to favor the rights of her half brother, James, the Chevalier de Saint George. Letters of the period clearly show that the family of Hume of Wedderburn was, like nearly all of the name, strongly Jacobite in sympathies,² and like all interested in that cause, watched closely the health of the Queen, for it seemed evident that a blow would be struck on her death. The following letter to Sir George Hume, of Wedderburn, throws light on the feeling of the time:

Much honoured,

We have received by order of the Privy Council the unhappy news that on Friday last the Queen was taken very ill, the phisicians apprehending her Majestie to be in s[ome] danger. We are to acquaint you that the comm[ands] of the Lords of Council are that all mag[istr]ats and others in authority doe use their utmost [ende]avours for taking care of the public peace and that they give such directions as may be most likely to prevent any disturbance in the kingdom in case Her Majestie should be caryed off by this fit of sickness; and for that end the Duke of Ormond has sent his commands to his troops here in Scotland. We desire you from time to time to give us proper notice of any thing which happens in your bounds that concerns the peace of the countrey. We are, much honoured, Your most humble servants,

IlayJ. SmithJames ErskineHeroneA. MaitlandJohn ClerkJohn CarnegyLod. ErskineTho. KennedyGeorge DalrympleW. CalderwoodGeo. Warrender

Edinburgh, 3 August 1714. (Wedd. MSS. No. 263).

² The head of the family, Alexander, seventh Earl of Hume, was imprisoned during the Rising of 1715 in Edinburgh Castle. His brother James of Ayton commanded the second troop of Horse in King James's army at the battle of Preston. Alexander Hume, second Earl of Marchmont, on the other hand, had been in command of the Prince of Orange's Guard in Holland during the exile of his father Sir Patrick Hume, first Earl of Marchmont, and raised two troops of horse and two battalions of foot to aid in putting down the Rising or 1715 (Paul's *The Scots Peerage*, VI, p. 18).

Queen Anne died on August 1, 1714, two days before this letter was written but before, of course, the news had reached the Scottish capital.

Though the Jacobites were both numerous and zealous, the Queen's death found them unprepared. They were to be found chiefly in the Highlands and in the Border counties of Scotland and England. The principles of the Jacobite country gentlemen in the Scottish Borders, says Sir Walter Scott, "had been handed down to them by their fathers; they were connected in their ideas with the honour of their country; and they were prepared to defend them with a degree of zeal which valued not the personal risks in which the doing so might place life and property". The Union of the crowns of Scotland and England, which had been voted by the Parliaments of the two kingdoms in 1707, was highly unpopular in Scotland where the feeling existed that it had given the English power to enslave them, and the Jacobite leaders played upon this feeling. The leader of the movement in Scotland was John, eighteenth Lord Erskine and eleventh Earl of Mar, who had been Secretary of State during the last years of Queen Anne. Scottish Border troops took as their commander, William Gordon, Viscount Kenmure, while the leader of the English Borderers was Thomas Forster of Bamborough, a Member of Parliament.

Sir George Hume³ of Wedderburn, eleventh baron of his line, with his second son, George, and his brother, Francis Hume of Quixwood, joined the force of Lord Kenmure and with the command of James, younger brother of Alexander,

³ The name of this family is pronounced *Hume* but is also frequently spelled *Home*. In early documents such other spellings as Hum, Hoome, Houme, Howm, and the like are found. The family of Hume of Wedderburn have used both spellings though perhaps the form *Home* has been more common. Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet, spelled it *Hume* as did also his brother Francis of Quixwood. George, son of the former, used the form *Home* when he first came to Virginia and his letters and other papers are signed "G.home" until the year 1746 after which he spelled his name "G.hume". This use of the small "h" has been confusing to those not familiar with his handwriting. The Humes of Polwarth and their descendants the Earls of Marchmont always used the spelling *Hume*. The Earls of Hume have usually, but not invariably, preferred the spelling *Home*. David Hume, the historian, in a

Near Duns, Berwickshire, Scotland Seat of the Humes of Wedderburn since 1413. Partly rebui

Near Duns, Berwickshire, Scotland nce 1413. Partly rebuilt in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

WEDDERBURN CASTLE



seventh Earl of Hume, marched south into England to join the English Jacobites.

Sir George had had some military experience. On July 2, 1702, he had been commissioned by Queen Anne a Second Lieutenant in the Grenadier Company of the Royal Scots Fusiliers (English Army Lists and Commission Register for 1702-6, V, p. 80).

"The Scots were mounted on strong hardy horses, fit for the charge", says Sir Walter, "and, though but poorly disciplined, were well armed with the basket-hilted broadswords then common throughout Scotland. The English gentlemen, on the other hand were mounted on fleet blood-horses but there was among them a great want of swords and pistols; so that the Scots were inclined to doubt whether men so well equipped for flight, and so imperfectly prepared for combat, might not, in case of an encounter, take the safer course and leave them in the lurch. It is said that as they entered the town of Wooler, about seventeen miles due south of Berwick-on-Tweed, their

letter to Alexander Home of Westfield, of date 12 April 1758, says, "The practice of spelling Hume is by far the most ancient and most general until the time of the Restoration, when it became common to spell it *Home* contrary to the pronunciation. Our name is frequently mentioned in Rymer's Fædera and always spelled Hume". John Home, author of the tragedy Douglas, on the other hand resolutely maintained that *Home* was the original and proper spelling, and the historian and he had many good-humoured discussions on the subject. On one occasion David proposed they should cast lots to decide the matter. "It is all very well for you, Mr. Philosopher, to make such a proposal", was John's rejoinder, "for if you lose you will obtain your own proper name, but if you win I lose mine". In the last note which David sent to Dr. Blair, inviting him to dinner he thus began: "Mr. John Home, alias Hume, alias the Home, alias the late Lord Conservator, alias the late Minister of the Gospel at Athelstaneford, has calculated matters so as to arrive infallibly with his friend in St. David's Street on Wednesday evening" etc. It was well known that John Home had a strong dislike for port wine, and in playful allusion to this, as well as to their dispute about the proper spelling of the name, David added the following codicil to his will on 6 August 1776, nineteen days before his death: "I leave to my friend Mr. John Home of Kilduff, ten dozen of my old claret at his choice, and one single bottle of the liquor called port. I also leave him six dozen of port provided that he attests under his hand, signed John Hume, that he has himself finished that bottle alone at two sittings. By this concession he will at once surmount the only two differences that ever were between us concerning temporal matters". (Taylor's Great Historic Families of Scotland, I, p. 370). In documents quoted in this paper the spelling of the original is preserved.

commanding officer gave the word: 'Gentlemen, you that have got swords, draw them'; to which a fellow among the crowd answered, not irrelevantly: 'And what shall they do that have none'?' (Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. LXVIII).

We have the following letter from Sir George Hume of Wedderburn⁴ to his wife, written from Woller at this time:

Woolar, 9 October 1715.

My dearest,

We came heir yesternight and ar to joyn the English the morrow who ar very strong both in horse and arms. We ar to go streight south at first. Ther is not a county heir but ar riseing and very numerous. I desire ye may take curage and be not dejected, for we doubt not of busines proveing to our mind. This day we heard Mr. Gladstons preach who performed wonderfully. I shall miss no sure occasion to writ to yow. We ar all very weill and wishes to hear the like of yow and the bairns and recommends yow and them to God. I am,

Yours,

G. Hume

I desire ye may cause sell some corn of the north side and have a litle money ready in caice I have occasion to call for it. For God sake be not dejected. Cause deliver the inclosed. If

[Addressed] For his wery weill belowed, the Lady Wedderburn, thees. (Wedd. MSS. No. 240).

⁴ History seems indeed to have repeated itself in this family. Interesting in this connection is the following letter written, 1650, by George only son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, to his wife two days before the battle of Dunbar where he and his father were killed fighting against Oliver Cromwell. In both instances the soldier is about to engage in a battle destined to result in defeat for a Stuart king:

Deir Sueitt heartt [Sweetheart],

I doutt nott bot ye hev hard of owr mearching. The ennymie now lays in Heddingtone, and this day hes cott soum cannone; yeisterd. ther was soum los bott nott many, presed be God, this scrimmiging; soum and the most peartt thinks he is retyring bott otheris thinkis and I to, he will nott retir till he feaghtt [fight]. My man Dunken hes lost my horse. I hew nott sentt Peatrik away at yitt, neather mynd I till I sie how things goes; we think he expectis a recruit. God derect us and me.

Your ever most affectionatt husband till deathe,
Neir Clarkingtone, Lygere, 1 of Sept 1650. G. Hume
My deir heatt [heart] treitt your selff weill. God derect you and
the littell once [little ones]. I know not quhatt [what] to for my
horce, and I think mair to bott the horce is gone. Iff we can itt
is thought we will feaght or att least scrimmish this nightt. Sum
says the ennymie is fleing. Recew [receive] this I should give itt
yowe, bott forgett.

it wer possible yow can get notice of any body comeing to us, send me some linings and cause send some to Jamie.

[Addressed] To the Lady Wedderburn. (Wedd. MSS.

No. 264).

The Scots were disappointed in the number of English Jacobites who joined their forces, since against their better judgment they had agreed to the English plan of carrying the war into England. They nevertheless continued to march southward. "In their march through Cumberland and Westmoreland," continues Sir Walter, "there was little seen of that enthusiasm in the Jacobite cause which the English officers had taught their associates to expect. Manchester was the first town where the inhabitants were disposed to embark in the insurrection. Information of their friendly disposition reached the insurgents at Lancaster and encouraged them to advance, and having moved from Lancaster to Preston, they resolved to possess themselves of Warrington bridge with a view to securing Liverpool." But while they were considering a plan of attack they were completely surprised in Preston by the Hanovarian forces. Generals Carpenter and Willis advanced from two directions and on November 12, 1715, commenced operations against the town of Preston by a double attack. The Jacobites held out for two days but were forced to surrender.5

Sir Walter Scott thus finishes the story: "On laying down their arms, the unhappy garrison were enclosed in one of the churches and treated with considerable rigour, being stripped and ill used by the soldiery. About fourteen hundred men of all sorts were included in the surrender; amongst whom there were about two hundred domestic servants, followers of the

the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought in Scotland. While that battle was indecisive it was in effect a defeat for the Earl of Mar's army. The Chevalier de Saint George arrived in Scotland from France in December, not knowing of the discomforture of the wearers of the white cockade, but soon thereafter returned to the Continent, his flight being unattended by the romantic incidents that marked the escape of his son Prince Charles Edward (called the "Young Pretender" by the Hanovarian party but "Bonnie Prince Charlie" by the Jacobites) in 1745 following his defeat at Culloden. The Chevalier, recognized as King James III by France, Spain and the Pope, died in Rome in 1766 at the age of 78 and is buried in the basilica of Saint Peter's, as are also his sons Charles Edward (Charles III) and Cardinal York (Henry IX).

gentlemen who had assumed arms, about three hundred gentlemen volunteers, the rest consisting of Brigadier McIntosh's command of Highlanders. Six of the prisoners were condemned to be shot by martial law, as holding commissions under the Government against which they had borne arms. Little mercy was shown to the misguided private men whose sole offense was having complied with what was in their eyes a paramount duty, the obedience to their chiefs. Very many underwent the fate which made them so unwilling to enter England, namely that of banishment to the plantations in America" (cf. Terry's *The Jacobites and the Union*, p. 221), and thereby hangs this tale.

"The prisoners of most note were sent up to London, into which they were introduced in a kind of procession, which did less dishonour to the sufferers than to the mean minds who planned and enjoyed such an ignoble triumph. Most of them, men of birth and education, were, on approaching the capital, all pinioned with cords like the vilest criminals. This ceremony they underwent at Barnet. At Highgate they were met by a large detachment of horse, grenadiers and foot guards, preceded by a body of citizens decently dressed, who shouted to give example to the mob. Halters were put upon the horses ridden by the prisoners, and each man's horse was led by a private soldier. With all sorts of scurrilous abuse and insult they were led through the streets of the city in this species of unworthy triumph, and deposited in the jails at Newgate, the Marshalsea and other prisons of the metropolis" (Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. LXXI). "Even a Quaker exulted at the sight of the procession of captives. Gerard Penrice, a prisoner wrote: 'A Quaker fixed his eyes upon me and distinguishing what I was, said: "Friend, verily thou hast been the Trumpeter of Rebellion to these men. Thou must answer for this".' 'It gave the very idea,' said the Flying Post, 'of the triumphs of the ancient Romans when they led their captives to Rome.' Lady Cowper's diary confirms this bad treatment of the Jacobite prisoners" (Doran's London in the Jacobite Times, I, p. 104).

There were several fathers and their sons in the procession. Doran (loc. cit.) gives a list of the more distinguished prisoners and in commenting on this, cites a number of examples of a father and his son marching together. Among these he notes "the two George Homes of Wedderburn and George and Alexander Home of Whitfield, who were pointed out by the soldiers." Francis Hume of Quixwood was also in the group and all of these members of the Wedderburn and Whitfield families were incarcerated in the Marshalsea.⁶

The following letter tells of their trials. It is addressed to Mistress Jean Hume, sister of Wedderburn and Quixwood.

Marshalsea, 7 July 1716.

Dear Sister:

I hope yow will not be surprysed. On Thursday last John Winram and my tryalls came on and wer brought in guilty. Yesterday Whitfeild was tryed and meet with the same. Yow need not be concerned, for our lives I hope ar in no hazard, we

⁶ The Marshalsea prison, abolished in 1849, was in Southwark, London. It was attached to a court of that name held by the stewarts and marshal of the King's house. The date of its first establishment is unknown but it existed as early as the reign of Edward III. Here and at Westminister Hall the Jacobite prisoners were tried in 1716. Among those convicted were many of the name Hume including, besides those mentioned above, James, younger brother of the seventh Earl of Hume (convicted May 15th) (Doran, loc. cit. and p. 217). The living conditions in the Marshalsea and Fleet prisons (later consolidated) were terrible. Prisoners without money were consigned to the "Lion's Den", the "Middle Dark", and the "Common Side", while those with money to pay for their food were somewhat better treated, but even so many died of their hardships and sufferings (Doran I, p. 115). Public opinion at last became aroused to such an extent that in 1728 the prison wardens were brought to trial for murder. The investigation which followed was instigated by General Oglethorpe, then an M. P., whose friend Robert Castell had been a victim. Many of the unfortunate debtors thereafter released were settled by Oglethorpe in the colony of Georgia (Earl of Birkenhead's Famous Trials of Hist., p. 121). In 1842 the Marshalsea was consolidated with the Queen's bench and the Fleet, and was then described as a "prison for debtors and persons charged with contempt of Her Majesty's courts of the Marshalsea, the court of the Queen's palace of Westminister and the high court of admiralty, and also for the admiralty prisoners under sentance of court martial". The Marshalsea Prison is well known to readers of Charles Dickens's Little Dorrit.

⁷ This was George Home of Whitfield (near Duns, Berwickshire), a descendant of the first Lord Hume and a staunch Jacobite. Further intelligence of him is had from his letters to the Duke of Mar (the Chevalier had raised the Earl of Mar to that rank). One of them,

haveing assurance no more heir ar to die. Every body was surprysed when the jure brought me in guilty, for ther wer two evidences against me who declaired they only see me ence upon the road with the rebells without either sword or pistoll and no more. Ther wer other two of the King's evidences for me who declaired they see me brought in prisoner to Kelso and see me caried on all the way prisoner till we came to Prestone wher we wer taken by the King's forces. Jerviswood [George Baillie of Jerviswood] was surprysed with it and promises me all the friendship he can. Take the prudentest way you can to acquaint my mother, for she needs have no fear, for I trust in God we shall all be said. As for Geordie [his second son who was later sent to Virginia], we expect a noli prosequi for him, so he will be set at liberty.8 If any of Whitfield's servants come to Berwick on ther road to London, he desires yow

dated Paris 27 September 1717, begins: "After twelve months confinement and lying under sentance of death the greater part of the time, I was freed by the Act of Grace (6 May 1717). Arrived here last week". He then recounts going to St. Germains and waiting on His Majesty (James VIII of Scotland). He mentions also his wife and six children (Cal. of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle, V, p. 79). On 18 November 1717 he wrote from Rouen that he hoped the Earl of Hume would not fall into the Government's hands and advises that the Earl, for his safety, travel in foreign parts (ibid, V, p. 213). On 10 May 1718 he wrote, again from Rouen, expressing sorrow at the Queen's death (Mary of Modena, second queen of James II and VII died at St. Germains, 7 May 1718), and describes the sad lot of the Jacobites in France for whom he suggests an appeal for assistance to the Regent (the Duke of Orleans, Regent during the minority of Louis XV of France). He also advocates a new rising for the Stuart cause (ibid, VI, p. 423). He was probably engaged in the abortive Jacobite attempt of 1719 and certainly brought up his sons in these principles for we find that one of them, Captain David Home of Balmerino's Life Guards, was executed at Penrith on 28 October 1746 for his part in the Forty-five, and another, George, after imprisonment at Carlisle and Lancaster Castle, was transported to Antigua, West Indies on 8 May 1747 (Prisoners of the '45 Scots. Hist. Soc. 3d. Ser. II, pp. 288, 290). His eldest son, Alexander Home of Manderston, who was "out in the Fifteen" and who with his father was carried prisoner to London, was an intimate friend of George, son of the Laird of Wedderburn, who was sent to Virginia. He is mentioned in some of the latter's letters (vide infra). Whitfield's lands fell into the hands of Ninian Home of Billie just as did those of Wedderburn. Lady Grizel Baillie's Household Book (see note 21) shows that she gave pecuniary aid to both Whitfield and his son Alexander in their time of need.

⁸ It may be supposed that George's youth was considered at his trial, as was sometimes done. In the Forty-five, for example we find that "Cornet William Home was in the most guilty class, having borne the Pretender's standard at Falkirk and Culloden, but was released being but fourteen years old; his brother was executed at Carlisle" (*Prisoners of the '45*, I, pp. 21, 106).

may stop them and to forward the inclosed which is writ to that purpose. Whitfield gives his service to yow all. We ar brether in afflictione but both weill and hearty. This with my duty to my mother and service to the lady and lases of Billie, with Mrs. Darant and all other friends, I am,

Your loveing brother,

G. Hume.

Forward the inclosed with the first occasione. If yow get not a sure hand to send Mr. Ninians, in all haist send it to Wedderburn. (Wedd. MSS. No. 268).

"There was dissatisfaction in Scotland that the prisoners whose offense had been committed in Scotland should be tried in England, an unconstitutional act, which was due to fear least the Scots judges should be too favourable to their countrymen" (*The Jacobite Rising*, H. G. Graham, Scottish Life and History, p. 158).

Sir George's defense, as implied in his letter just quoted, appears somewhat weak, but was quite in keeping with those of the several peers and others. At the trial the Earl of Derwentwater stated that he was constitutionally disposed to lead a quiet life and knew nothing of any conspiracy (!) and innocently went to the gathering at Plainfield, having been told he would find many friends and kinsmen assembled there. He joined them thoughtlessly but never used the arms he wore. Lord Widdrington said that he "came unawares into this sudden and unpremeditated action". He went to Plainfield without any definite knowledge as to what was intended. He was the last to take up arms and the first to lay them down. The Earl of Nithsdale stated that till after he joined the Jacobite force he had never heard of any invasion or of any projected insurrection. Lord Nairn said that he had never taken the oaths

^{9 &}quot;The lady and lasses of Billie" were the wife (Joan Home) and daughters of David Renton of Billie. Billie Castle, dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, was in ruins at the date of this letter. The Laird of Billie being deeply in debt, his lands were, subsequent to the date of this letter, acquired by Mr. Ninian Home who thenceforth was known as Ninian Home of Billie. In a letter of 1723, George Hume of Virginia sends "his service" to Mrs. Helen and Mary Renton, two of the daughters of Renton of Billie (Thomson's Coldingham Parish and Priory, p. 16). At that period the title "Mrs." was applied to unmarried as well as to married women.

but had lived as loyally as if he had till he was inadvertently involved in this rebellion by Lord Mar. Nothing is more astounding than the repeated declarations of innocence and ignorance made by men of such birth and quality. The Earl of Carnwath and Viscount Kenmure put in no apologetic reply. Earl Cowper artfully turned the silly, almost base, plea of the lords, that they had been drawn into rebellion without thinking of it, into a charge of insane eagerness to commit treason (Doran's London in the Jacobite Times, I, p. 134, et seq).

The following letter anent the conviction of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn was written by the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. George Tilson to Alexander Hume, Lord Polwarth, afterwards second Earl of Marchmont, while he was Ambassador to the Court of Denmark, and is dated Whitehall, London, 10 July 1716. The paragraph in point is:

On Thursday and Friday last Mr. Winderham [John Winraham of Eyemouth, mentioned in the above letter of Hume of Wedderburn], Mr. George Hume [of Wedderburn], Mr. Hume of Whitfield, Mr. Balfour, and James Hume Esq [of Ayton] brother to the Earl of that name formerly condemned, were tryed at the Marshalsea and found guilty of high treason, and received sentence of death, as did also on the next day at Westminster the other rebels. Yesterday Monsieur d'Iberville, the French envoy, set out for Paris. This day Edward Howard, Esqr., brother to the Duke of Norfolk, was tryed for high treason and acquitted (Hist. Mss. Comm. Rpt. on Mss. of Lord Polwarth, I, p. 38).

At this time Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, in keeping with the custom of the day and expecting early execution, had a mourning ring made, which is still in existence (at Paxton House). This ring contains a lock of his hair and bears the initials G. H. surmounted by a Death's head. The horrible and disgusting sentence of death for high treason was that of being hanged, drawn, and quartered. It was pronounced in these terrible words:

"Let the several prisoners return to the gaol from whence they came, and from there they must be drawn to the place of execution; and when they come there they must be severally hanged by the neck, but not till they be dead, for they must be cut down alive; then their bowels must be taken out and burned before their faces; then their heads must be severed from their bodies; and their bodies severally divided into 4 quarters; and these must be at the King's disposal" (Prisoners of the '45, I, p. 326).

Many of these unfortunate men underwent this barbarous punishment, though some of the peers were spared "the most ignoble and painful parts" and enjoyed happy and honourable dispatch under the edge of the axe! (Doran, loc. cit.). The Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-Hill on 24th of February 1716, and the Earls of Nithsdale and Wintoun avoided a similar fate by their well known escape from the Tower of London. "It was impossible to kill all of the captives", continues Doran (I, p. 168), "so that many persons in London or in the county gaols were induced to petition for banishment. They were then made over as presents to trading courtiers, who might sell them their pardons. Prisoners who were unable to buy their pardons of courtiers who had them to sell, and that at very high rates, were simply sent off to the Plantations. The veriest Whigs who saw a group of these unfortunates on their way to the river, must have covered their eyes for shame".

The Laird of Wedderburn, his second son George, and his brother Francis of Quixwood, were thus fated to be sold as slaves in the plantations. George, the son, was pardoned however on account of his youth, as we have said, and Francis of Quixwood was transported as an "indentured man" and not as a slave (see his letter below). Treason was frequently punished by sale into slavery in the colonies. Many of the Scottish prisoners captured at the battle of Dunbar were sold by Oliver Cromwell as slaves in the island of Jamaica and a similar fate overtook many of the Jacobites who fell into the hands of the cruel Duke of Cumberland at the battle of Culloden in 1745. Perhaps if Sir George's grandfather and great-

grandfather had not both fallen at the battle of Dunbar in 1650 they might have been sold by Cromwell into slavery in Jamaica and the colonial branch of the family established there instead of in the colony of Virginia. This was known as "clemency" in seventeenth and eighteenth century England (Cf. Chidsey's Bonnie Prince Charlie, p. 181). With regard to the rank and file of the Preston prisoners, who were not thought worth the expense of bringing to London, judges left the capital to dispose of them in a singular way. Every twentieth man was taken by lot to stand trial, all the rest were to be transported (Doran, I, p. 122).

By the help of powerful friends of the Hanovarian party, Sir George was saved from transportation as well as from death. Mention is made of the great influence of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, first Earl of Marchmont. He and his son Lord Polwarth used their best efforts for their distressed kinsman, whose life but not whose lands they were able to save. Ninian Home's part in this episode is elsewhere described.

A sentence of forfeiture was passed against Sir George Hume of Wedderburn of which we find the following record:

Abstract of Several Surveys of the Forfeited Estates, Real, lying in Scotland, taken by the Surveyor and his Deputy, upon the Oaths of the Several Tenants and Possessors &c. by Order of the Commissioners of Enquiry in the years 1716-1717, containing the particular Rents and the Yearly Values thereof:

No. 6—Abstract of the Rental of the Real Estate of Sir George Home, late of Wedderburn.

	£	s.	d.
Money: Rent payable in money	206	3	10 5/6
Capons: 31 at 6 2/3 d. each	0	17	$2 \frac{2}{3}$
Hens: 57 at 5 d. each	1	3	9 '
Carriage of Coals: 52 loads at 6 d. for each 1	load 1	6	. 0
Carriages: 42 at 1 s. 8 d. per Carriage	3	10	0
	£213	0	10½

(Forfeited Estates Papers, p. xviii et seq.).

By the Act of 1715, passed in January, 1 Geo. I, (Forfeited Estates Papers, p. 338), 13 commissioners were appointed to survey and obtain possession of the Forfeited Estates, 7 for England and 6 for Scotland. The forfeiture included all of the movable goods and chattels of the traitors, as well as the "real estate" of which they had been possessed. The estates so surveyed had belonged to the following gentlemen, the list of names giving a good idea of the type of men who had turned out for the good old cause:

No. 1 George, late Earl of Wintoun No. 2 James, late Earl of Linlithgow

No. 3 James, late Earl of Panmure No. 4 James, late Earl of Southesque

No. 5 James Sterling, late of Keir

No. 6 George Home, late of Wedderburn

No. 7 James Home, late of Ayton No. 8 James, late Viscount Kilsyth

No. 9 Sir Hugh Paterson, late of Bannockburn

No. 10 Robert Craw, late of East Reston

No. 11 John, late Earl of Marr

No. 12 John Stewart, late of Invernitie

No. 13 Major-General Gordon, late of Auchintowl

No. 14 Robert Rollo, late of Powhouse No. 15 George Mackenzie, late of Nutthill No. 16 John Scrimgeor, late of Bowhill

No. 17 Patrick Seaton, late of Lathrisk No. 18 William Douglas, late of Glenbervy

No. 19 Sir John Preston, late of Preston Hall No. 20 Alexander Menzies, late of Woodend No. 21 Colonel John Balfour, late of Fairney

No. 22 The late Master of Nairn

No. 23 Major Henry Balfour, late of Dunboog

No. 24 The late Earl Marischall

No. 25 John Carstairs, late of Kilconquhar

No. 26 The late Lord Nairn

No. 27 Sir Davide Thriepland of Fingask

No. 28 John Hay, late of Cromlix

No. 29 William, late Earl of Nithisdale

No. 30 Alexander Farquharson, late of Inneray

No. 31 William, late Viscount Kenmure

No. 32 James, late Lord Drummond

No. 33 Robert, late Lord Burleigh

No. 34 John Walkinshaw, late of Scotstown

No. 35 William Graham, late of Duntroon

No. 36 William Greir, Jun., late of Lagg

No. 37 Robert, late Earl of Carnwath

No. 38 Mr. Basil Hamilton, late of Baldoon.

Sum of Values—£29,694 6s. 8d.

(Forfeited Estates Papers. Scots. Hist. Soc., LVII, p. xvi et seq.).

The forfeited estates were afterwards purchased from the Government by a great mercantile company of London, originally instituted for supplying the city with water. This was the notorious York Buildings Company. The company found, however, that there were so many difficulties incident to their taking possession of their prizes that they became bankrupt. "The tenants," says Scott, "were disposed to acknowledge no landlords but the heirs of the ancient families, and lived in remote districts where law was trameled by feudal privileges, and afforded little protection to the intruders. Attempts were made from time to time to sell the Scottish estates, but very inefficiently, and at great disadvantage. Men of capital showed an unwillingness to purchase the forfeited property; and in two or three instances the dispossessed families were able to repurchase them at low rates (Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. LXXIII).10

"Another difficulty (as will be appreciated by a glance at the above abstract of the Wedderburn rents), perplexed the English commissioners. At that time a large proportion of farm rents were paid in kind, and the terms of many leases were absolutely unintelligible to the Englishmen. Hence Scottish surveyors had to be appointed to value the lands. Their lists are of importance as showing a method of conducting agriculture which has wholly passed away. The lists are also useful as showing the price of victuals at the period" (Forfeited Estate Papers, p. xv).

¹⁰ It is said that but one estate in Berwickshire actually fell into the hands of the York Buildings Company, viz, East Reston, belonging to Robert Craw, and even it was first acquired by Mr. James Daes for his son-in-law the Rev. Ninian Home (Romanes, Berwick Journal, 7 Nov. 1895).

The following letter from Sir George to his kinsman, Patrick Hume of Bastlerig, throws additional light on his imprisonment and forfeiture.

Marishalsea, 28 August 1716.

Dear Sir,

The Commissioners for inquiring after the forfaulted estates being now to meet, our friend heir tells me yow have writ to him for account of what lands he hes holding of a subject and for me to give the same. All the lands I hold of subjects ar my interest in the barrony of Coldingham or Abbacie thereof which holds of the Earl of Home. My predicessors never had a chartor of the Earl but wer lyable to pay few dutys and other casualitys to him. The lands of Paxtone ar within the Abbacie of Coldingham. I desire yow do in my busines as you do in our friends and if ever we make a step home again we shall give you thanks. I am hopefull, considering the intrest and friendship that hes been betwixt the Earles predicesors and mine, he will make no scruple to give my familie and me that advantage he can. So I hope if any papers to be granted be for our behoofe he will not refuse it; and for the trustie [Trustee] I leave that to my wife and you, but see it be not Sir Patrick [Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden] or any of his famalie. Ye may also advise with Mr. Ninian [Rev. Ninian Home of Billie] about it. I likeways hold Kimmerghame and the East miln therof which I was in possessione of of the Duke of Douglass, 11 but how to manadge that I cannot advise yow, if my Lord Hume and Mr. Ninian do it not, because my memory can not serve me in every thing about that. It will be fit that yow put in a generall clause which may comprehend anything, and pray let me hear from yow about it, and if this comes to your hand. Hopeing ye will excuse this now in the time of my distres, and give my service to your lady and sones, I am, Dear Sir,

Your affectionat cusine and servant,

G. Hume.

For Patrick Hume of Bastlerig or Midletone in his absence. (Wedd. MSS. No. 269).

¹¹ The Duke of Douglas and the Earl of Hume were the superiors of certain lands that Sir George held, that is his title to them came from these peers and not from the Crown, and certain fees were payable to them.

The date of the letter shows that Sir George was still in prison, almost a year after his capture at Preston. His brother Francis had been transported to Virginia about a month before this time. Their difficulties with their father-in-law, Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden, Baronet, hinted at in the letter, will be noted later.

There was another obstacle to the taking over of the forfeited estates. Under the Scots law, before the Commissioners could take possession of or even value these properties, the creditors lodged claims in the Court of Session, and the Barons of Exchequer claimed the right to administer the forfeited estates. The creditors sequestrated many of the estates, claim-that these could not be touched until all debts against them had been discharged. Unquestionably numerous bogus claims were put forth. It was stated that some of the factors appointed to administer sequestrated estates were either near relatives or had themselves supported the Jacobite cause. (Forfeited Estates Papers, loc. cit.) The debts of the Laird of Wedderburn, however, seem to have been real enough and are mentioned several times in the Diary of Sir David Hume, Lord Crossrig (pp. 74, 84, etc.).

In the case of the lands of Wedderburn, the Reverend Ninian Home of Billie (mentioned in the above letter as Mr. Ninian), came forward with numerous claims for debts against the estate and obtained a legal title to it. Sir George was in his debt in the sum of £30,000 and this at a time when "siller was scarce to a proverb". The connection of this Ninian Home with the Homes of Wedderburn is an interesting episode and will be outlined below. As early as 1711 he had begun to acquire parts of the Wedderburn lands for debts due him. George Hume, younger of Wedderburn (forfeited as a Jacobite in 1716) disponed the land of Auchincraw and others to Mr. Ninian Home on 19 September, 1711.

It is necessary at this point to review earlier events which led to the financial ruin of the family, since they had a direct bearing on their engaging in the desperate attempt to restore the Stuart dynasty. A brief sketch of the history of the family follows. Few have survived so many vicissitudes and weathered so many storms. (cf. Drummond's Histories of Noble British Families, II, p. 18).¹²

"The family of Hume sprung from the old Saxon Earls of Dunbar and Northumbria. Cospatrick, the third Earl, had a son to whom for a deed of prowess he gave the lands of Hume in Berwickshire, and he with his descendants were known as 'de Hume', and adopted the surname. Hume Castle is one of the most conspicuous of the fortalices in the Merse. This ancient stronghold, erected on an eminence which overlooks all the surrounding country, kept its eye, as it were, not only over the neighboring lands but also on the sea-coast and across the Tweed into England for a long listance, and seemed to indicate that it was sentinel for interests far wider than its Here for a long time was the residence of the main line of the Hume family, which early rose to eminence in the political life of Scotland, being enobled as Lords, and afterwards Earls, of Hume; and it is represented in the male line by the present (thirteenth) Earl of Hume." (Wedd. MSS., p. 2). (Cf. Paul's The Scots Peerage, III, p. 239, for Earls of Dunbar; IV, p. 440, for Earls of Hume).

The Humes of Wedderburn are the oldest cadets of the family of Hume. Sir Thomas Hume of Hume, who lived in the thirteenth century, had, by his wife, Nichola Pepdie, heiress of the barony of Dunglas in East Lothian, two sons. The eldest,

¹² The history of the family of Hume of Wedderburn was written in Latin in 1611 under the title of "De Familia Humia Wedderburnensi" by David Hume of Godscroft, younger brother of Sir George Hume, eighth of the barons of Wedderburn. It was published by the Abbotsford Club in 1839. A translation exists only in manuscript form, and apparently formed the basis of the lengthy account of the family in Drummond's Histories of Noble British Families (1846). A most valuable source of family history was made available in 1902 when the Historical Manuscripts Commission published as an appendix to its Report to Parliament, a Report on the Manuscripts of Colonel David Milne-Home of Wedderburn Castle, N. B. The book, 340 pages, gives the more important muniments of the family of Hume of Wedderburn. Where quoted in this paper the abbreviation "Wedd. MSS". is used.

Sir Alexander, continued the male line. He was killed at the battle of Verneuil in 1424. The second son, Sir David, received the barony of Wedderburn in 1413 from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and this grant received Royal confirmation April 19, 1430. The lands, the original Latin charter for which is in existence, have been in the possession of his descendants ever since, though under the strange circumstances to be related below.

By Alice, his wife, Sir David had a son, David, who was killed in the lifetime of his father (1450) in a fray in the Lammermoor Hills after having captured Robert Graham, the murderer of James I. By his wife, Elizabeth Carmichael, he had a son:

George Hume of Wedderburn, who received 1,000 merks in the terms of a treaty between Henry VIII of England and James IV of Scotland, 1493. He defeated the English under Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who had invaded Scotland, 1496; was captured in battle with the English, 1497, and murdered while a prisoner. His wife was Mariota, elder of the two co-heirs of Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston and Polwarth. Her sister married his brother, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, ancestor of the Earls of Marchmont, to whom reference is made below. George's son was,

Sir David Hume of Wedderburn; knighted by James IV; led a force of 3,000 men into England in revenge for his father's murder, 1497; commanded the Merse troops at the battle of Flodden, 1513, where he and his eldest son were killed. His seven sons were present at the battle and were known as "the Seven Spears of Wedderburn" (cf. Lay of the Last Minstrel, Canto 5th, IV). The bodies of the Laird and his son were carried back to Wedderburn Castle wrapped in the banner under which they fought and which has come down to us stained with their blood. It hangs today in the hall at Wedderburn Castle. He had married, before 1506, Isabella, daughter of David HopPringle of Smailholm. He was succeeded by his son,





"THE FLODDEN BANNER"

Borne by the Humes of Wedderburn at the battles of Flodden, 1513, and Dunbar, 1650. At both battles a Sir David and eldest son George were killed, and their bodies carried back to Wedderburn Castle wrapped in this banner which shows stains of their blood. Thought to be the oldest existing Scottish battle flag, it hangs today in the hall of Wedderburn Castle, "a silent yet telling reminder of those days of stress and storm in which our Border ancestry lived and died" (Col. David Milne-Home). The design is a yellow saltire on a green field. Of it a modern bard has written:

"The Humes of old were warriors bold, As e'er auld Scotland ken'd, man; Their motto was Their Country's Cause, And True unto the End, man. This is the banner which they raised On Flodden's Battle Field, man; Those noble men, their name be praised, They died ere they would yield, man."

Sir David Hume of Wederburn; was present with his father and brothers at Flodden, 1513; led his clan against the Duke of Albany in the border wars; in 1517 he slew the French Warden, D'Arcie de la Bastie, under circumstances well known to readers of Scottish Border ballads. He was present at the engagement known as "Clear the Causeway", 1520. For bravery at the siege of the Castle of Wark he was granted a part of the Royal arms as a crest, with the motto: Remember, also with a gold chain from the king's person. He defended Wedderburn Castle several times against the English and was

"Charles I authorized the Baronets of Scotland and their heirs male to wear and carry about their necks in all time coming, an orange-tawny silk ribbon, whereat hung a scutcheon argent, a saltire azure, and thereon an inescutcheon of Scotland, with an imperial crown above the escutcheon, and encircled with the motto 'Fax mentis honestæ gloria' . . . The wearing of the badge was never much used, but carried by way of canton, dexter and sinister; also by way of an inescutcheon. . . . Some Baronets add the badge as an extra-scutal appendage to their arms, hanging by its ribbon". (Pixley's History of the Baronetage, 1900, p. 243).

¹³ This crest was an augmentation consisting of the head of one of the supporters of the Royal Scottish arms. Prior to this award the Wedderburn family had used a lion's head as crest (as the Earls of Hume still do). The arms of the family are: Quarterly, first and fourth; vert, a lion rampart armed and langued gules, for HUME; second argent, three papingoes vert, beaked and membered gules, for PEPDIE of DUN-GLASS; third, argent, a cross engrailed azure, for SINCLAIR of HERDMANSTON and POLWARTH. Crest: A Unicorn's head and neck couped argent, maned and horned or, collared with an open crown. Mottoes: Above the crest: Remember, and below the shield True to the End. Supporters: Two falcons proper. The arms were matriculated in the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, in the Court of the Lord Lyon King of Arms by one of the descendants in America in 1921. Though required in terms of the Act of Parliament of 1672 this had not previously been done. The family of Hume of Wedderburn is one of those entitled to supporters in the capacity of "representatives of the ancient barons or chiefs of families". The following is the list of families having this right, as given by Nisbet: Halyburton of Pitcur, Fotheringham of Powry, Irvine of Drum, Moncrieff of that ilk, Home of Wedderburn, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Murray of Touchadam and Polmaise, Maxwell of Polloc, Dunbar of Westfield, Farquarson of Invercauld, Edgar of Wedderly, Haig of Bemerside, Barclay of Towie, Douglas of Redhouse, Montgomerie of Lainshaw, Wood of Craigie, Graham of Netherness, Bruce of Arth, and the principal houses of Dundas, Fullerton, Innes, Pollock, Dalmahoy and Skene. The only other persons having hereditary right to supporters are peers and the chiefs of the Highland clans. Several noble families, including the Earls of Home, and the Lords Cranstoun and Somerville, had the right to supporters long before they were raised to the peerage (Nisbet's System of Heraldry II, part iv, p. 32, quoted in Stevenson's Heraldry in Scotland, II, p. 315).

killed in battle with them in 1524. He married Alison, daughter of Sir George Douglas, Master of Angus, eldest son of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, known as "Archibald Bell-the-Cat" (portrayed in Scott's *Marmion*). He was succeeded by his son,

Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, who was but 9 years of age when his father was killed. He was married to Joan Hepburn of Waughton, and was killed at the battle of Pinkie, 1547, leaving no issue. He was succeeded by his brother,

Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, who had been present at the battle of Pinkie where his brother was killed, and also at the battle of Ancrum Moor. He was captured at the surrender of Dalkeith Castle to the English, 1548. He signed the Covenant, 1560, but sided with Mary Queen of Scots at Carbury Hill; commanded 500 horsemen against the English, 1567; Privy Councilor, 1592-9; sat in Parliament for Berwickshire, 1593-4 and 1598. By his first wife, Mariota, daughter of Andrew Johnstone of Elphinstone (known as "the Good Lady Wedderburn") he had a son who succeeded him,

Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, born 1552; hostage at the Court of Queen Elizabeth of England, 1573; Captain of an Independent Company of Horse in the Border wars; Warden of the Eastern Marches, 1578; present at the first Raid of Stirling, 1584; knighted, 1597; Keeper of the Castle of Berwick, 1597; Collector and Comptroller of the Household to James VI and his Queen, 1597; was one of the Ruthven Raiders, 1582; Commissioner of the Peace for the Isles, 1598; Privy Councilor, 1598-9; sat in Parliament for Berwickshire, 1605; Justice of the Peace, 1610-11. Mention is made below of his great losses while Comptroller to King James. His wife was Jean, daughter of John Haldane of Gleneagles. He died in 1616 in his bed, and is said to have been the first of his family to have that privilege. He was succeeded by his son,

Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, who was knighted before 1619. He sat in Parliament, 1621; Sheriff Principal for Berwickshire, 1624; Justice of the Peace, 1623-5 and 1634. He

served in the Army in France, 1627; was Colonel of Horse and Foot, 1643, in which year he served in Ireland. Served in the Army of the Covenant, 1644, and commanded the Merse Regiment at the sieges of Newcastle, Hereford and Newark. Conservator of the Peace, 1643, and a member of His Majesty's Secret Council in the same year. He was a member of the Army Committee in 1646 and Elder of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, 1650. He commanded the Merse Regiment against Oliver Cromwell when he invaded Scotland and was killed at the battle of Dunbar, 1650. He had been created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1638. In 1607 he married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Hume of Coldenknowes (grandfather of the third Earl of Hume), by whom he had one son,

George Hume, younger of Wedderburn. He served with the Scots troops on the continent and in repressing the Irish rebellion of 1641; was present at the capture of Carlaverock Castle; Lieutenant Colonel in the Army of the Covenant, 1644. He was killed with his father fighting against Cromwell at the battle of Dunbar, 1650. His and his father's bodies were wrapped in the family banner which had served in a similar emergency at the battle of Flodden, and carried back to Wedderburn Castle. Curiously enough in each case it was a David and his eldest son George who fell. His wife was Katherine, daughter of Sir Alexander Morison, Lord Prestongrange, by whom he had a son,

Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet. He was educated at Saint Andrews University and in 1686 commissioned a Cornet in His Majesty's Troop of Scots Guards. Burgess of Anstruther Easter, 1659; of St. Andrews, 1660; of Wigton, 1685, and of Berwick-on-Tweed, 1687. He was a Member of Parliament for Berwickshire, 1685, and in 1690 was serving as Captain in Lieutenant General Drummond's command. He died in 1715. His wife was Isabel, daughter of Sir Francis Liddle of Ravenswood in the county of Durham. By her he had three children, Jean, who died unmarried;

George, who succeeded him, and Francis, who was later transported to Virginia.

The eldest son, Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet, is the Laird who was "out in the Rising of 1715," and with whom and his son George and his brother Francis Hume of Quixwood, we are now chiefly concerned. He had married, 1695, Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden, Baronet, ¹⁴ her sister Isabel marrying Sir George's brother, Francis of Quixwood. She seems to have survived all, or nearly all, of her children as shown in the family letters quoted below.

Space does not admit of a more detailed sketch of the family of Hume of Wedderburn, but special consideration must be given to Sir George who was Comptroller to King James IV. To the many debts incurred by him in his Royal Master's service may be traced the financial ruin of the family and ultimately likewise, the disaster which overtook them in 1715. The incident is described at length by the late Mr. William Madden of Norham-on-Tweed (Home of Wedderburn, an Episode of Loyalty and Disaster, Hist. Berwickshire Naturalists Club, 1914, p. 295).

"Sir Walter Scott, in his graphic novel, The Fortunes of Nigel, describes the adventures of a young Scots nobleman, Lord Glenvarlock, who came up to London in the time of James I to endeavor to obtain payment from the king of a large debt due his family, in order to save his estates from being seized by creditors. One wonders if Sir Walter knew of the existence of the evidence possessed by his friend, George

Baronet of Nova Scotia was the second son of Sir John Hume of Renton and Manderston, Baronet an adherent of Charles I. His lands and property were pilliaged to an extent of £8,000 by the Protectorate. He was knighted, sworn Privy Councilor and appointed a Lord of Session, taking his seat as Lord Renton, 1663. He died, 1671, one of the greatest zealots for the Scottish Episcopacy. He was fourth in descent from Alexander Hume of Manderston, one of the "Seven Spears of Wedderburn" as the sons of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn were called from their services at the battle of Flodden. His wife was Margaret, eldest daughter of John Stuart, Commendator of Coldingham and son of the Earl of Bothwell. (Thomson's Coldingham Parish and Priory, p. 165 and appendix XXXII).

Home¹⁵ of Wedderburn and Paxton, whom he succeeded as Clerk of Session, of a very large debt due by the said king for payments and advances made by his ancestor, Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, when he was Collector and Comptroller of the Household to King James and his queen, Anne of Denmark." Possibly Mr. Home himself did not know of these documents as he was a very old man when he succeeded to the Wedderburn lands.

"Portions of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn's account books in his honourable but all too costly office are still preserved and are chiefly valuable for the glimpses they yield of the movements of the King and Queen from day to day. They tell of visits made from time to time by the King to Dumfries, Stirling, Falkland, Dundee, Glasgow, Dalkeith, and other places, and of the visit of the Duke of Holstein, and of the banquet made by the King and Queen to him and others, on which occasions there were generally large contributions of cattle, deer, fowls, etc., made by the nobles and lairds; of how the King drank all night with the Duke of Holstein, supped with the Duke of Lennox or someone else, and that one morning at four o'clock he left the Queen at Dalkeith and rode off to Fife, returning two days later. The Queen's movements are also recorded in her special household accounts." (Wedd. MSS. No. 143).

"It is rather sad," remarks Madden, "to think that the wine and other luxuries provided by Sir George Hume of Wedderburn have never been paid for to this day! Various efforts were made from time to time to obtain payment but without success. The matter dragged on until the time of Charles I when we find among the family papers the following curious and interesting memorandum:

Sir George Hume of Wedderburne, being Comptroller to King James VI of Scotland, the King being considerably in his debt, his son, Sir David, did, as I remember, in the year

¹⁵ Last surviving son of Alexander Home of Jardinefield and his wife Isabel, second daughter of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn. Home of Jardinefield was a son of Rev. Ninian Home of Billie by his first marriage.

1633 apply himself to King Charles the First, who gave a reference to examine the accounts to the Earl of Morton then Threasurar [Treasurer] quharapon [whereupon] the Earle gave a declaration that he, having examined the accounts, did find that the King was oweing either six or nine thousand *lib*. (1) remember not which of them) which was dew to the petitioner about 30 years agoe quharof [whereof] he had neither principall nor annual-rents; which petition, reference and answer I haveing in my hands in the year 1663 did petition King Charles the 2nd. The Earle of Lawderdale, being then Secretary, desired me to return home and ther should be care taken that I should be satisfyed out of the fines qwhich were not then disposed of, bot never got any satisfaction to this hour. I left this papers (viz) Sir David his petition, King Charles his reference to the Earle of Morton, with the Earle's answer, in London with Sir Alexander Hume, gentleman of the Privie Chamber, who dying thair, they so miscarryed that I could never come to them agane, bot I suppose they may be found in the Exchaiquer Books quhen the Earle of Morton was Threasurer.

On the back in a later hand, is the following note:

It may be mentioned as a piece of family history that a treaty of marriage (at the time of the within application to the Duke of Lauderdale) was going on between His Grace's only daughter and the Earle of Home; the lady was deformed, and the Earle after seeing her, refused the match. The Duke from that moment would pay no more attention to Wedderburn's claim. The lady was afterwards married to Lord Yester, ancestor to the Marquis of Tweeddale. (Wedd. MSS. No. 251).

Very tantilizing and provoking that the Duke of Lauder-dale should have been able to block so successfully a legal and just claim against his Royal Master on account of his daughter's rejection by the Earl of Hume, *spretæ injuria formæ!*"

The family claim against the King was quite notorious and was well and forcibly put by Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet in his very curious book, The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen:

"Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, was also Comptroller to King James, but had not better success than the rest of his predecessors; for he behoved to quit it, the king being much in his debt; which brought on such a burden on his house, that it is in hazard to perish, albeit there belonged to it a great patrimony. And the last two lairds, both father and son, were killed (being commanders at the unhappy field of Dunbar) by the English, as seven others of their forefathers had been before; so that never one of the house died in their beds, but only he who was Comptroller."

The late Mr. C. S. Romanes compiled from the Court Records of Edinburgh the following huge list of debts incurred for his Royal Master:

Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, his debts given in by Mr. Alexander Spottiswoode.

	Merks ¹⁶
Mr. Ninian Laws of Merchiestown	. 50,000
Pat. Ruchhead of Whitsomebank	,
Robert Dundas of Harvieston	•
Mr. Patrick Home, Minr. at Hutton	•
Catherine Home, Wadsetter of Whitsomewaulls (?)	•
Airs of Wm. Cunningham	. 1,678
Mr. Samuel Johnston, Sheines	. 1,200
John Crawford of Crawfordland	. 4,000
Andrew Ramsey	. 3.000
Andrew Kerr of Morriston	. 2,700
Isabel Home	. 2,000
John Dun, Portioner of Grueldykes	. 2,000
George Keulterson, Hilltown	. 5,000
James Johaston, Easter Law	. 2,000
Walter Johnston in Wedderburn	. 3,000
Airs of Captain George Nisbet	2,430
John Stalker	. 1,500
Auley McAuley in Ardincaple	. 2,000
Airs of Thomas Simson in Dryburn	. 6,000
James Robertson, Chamberlain to the Earl of Rox-	
burghe	. 2,500
James Bowmaker in Whitsome	
Airs of Roberts of Robert Hepburn	. 300
John Edington in Jardinefield	. 10,000
Wm. Brown in Kimmerghame Mill	. 2,500
23 August 1656.	191,408

¹⁶ A merk or mark was equivalent to 13 shillings 4 pence. This total would therefore be £127,605, an enormous sum three centuries ago.

The unfortunate family of Wedderburn parted, time after time, with lands here and there, such as the barony of Horndean, Jardinefield (said to have been the dower house of the family in olden times), etc., till the crisis came in 1715 when Sir George Hume of Wedderburn joined the Jacobite cause.

During the past half century the British National Treasury has spent large sums in commuting sundry perpetual pensions granted by Charles II for very unworthy services of favourites, and it is passing strange that his grandfather's honourable and legal debts should remain a byeword and a reproach.¹⁷ The family never received any compensation whatever for the expenditures of Sir George, the Comptroller, other than the Baronetcy conferred on the Comptroller's son, Sir David, in 1638. The hereditary degree of Baronet of Nova Scotia was instituted by Charles I in 1625. Each baronet was supposed to support six colonists in Nova Scotia for two years and pay 1,000 marks to the Earl of Stirling, to whom the province had been granted by charter of 1621. In return a "free barony" of 16,000 acres in Nova Scotia was to be granted to each Baronet. In 1638 the creation ceased to carry with it the lands in Nova Scotia so that none were granted to Sir George Hume of Wedderburn. It is doubtful if Sir George was ever able to pay the fees, quite large for that day, so that we often find reference to his name without the designation of Baronet. That he was so honoured is, however, shown in the works on the subject, notably The Complete Baronetage by G. E. Cokayne, 1902, p. 442; Drummond's Histories of Noble British Fam-

^{17 &}quot;King James died 1625 owing among other debts £120,000 to the City of London, £150,000 on account of the Palatinate Army, and £40,000 for his wardrobe. His son Charles I did not improve matters by spending £42,000 on his father's funeral. The money-raising tricks which had made his father's reign so odious were expanded and added to (Lord E. Hamilton's The Irish Rebellion of 1641, p. 71). Even early in his reign King James had been annoyed in London by the too frequent visits of his Scottish subjects asking payment of old debts due by the king "which of all kinds of importunity", said the Royal proclamation, with great simplicity, "is the most unpleasing to his Majesty". Therefore general proclamation was made at all the market crosses in Scotland, that no Scottish person should be permitted to travel to England without leave of the Privy Council. (Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. XXXV).

ilies, II, p. 24, etc. Drummond says that his son, George's, patent of Baronetage passed the Great Seal (Sibbald's Geneal. Col.) but it was not entered on the record (Hist. of Nob. Brit. Fams., II, p. 25). Forfeiture of his Baronetcy was part of the sentence imposed on the Laird of Wedderburn in 1715. For sake of convenience he is mentioned throughout these notes as "the forfeited Laird".

Of interest is the following letter from Sir George, the Comptroller, to his wife, in that he tells in his own hand a Comptroller's troubles with his King's finances. It is addressed to "My Jane Hadden". She was Jean Haldane, daughter of the Laird of Gleneagles.

Jane, quhether [whether] the Kingis twrenes [needs] had moir ned of me heir or my owne ther, I vot not, bot for that my owne left mauk [may] have mair neid of this informatioun, I twrne my pen homevart. [He then deals with farming matters and domestic affairs, inter alia]: Gar tak a horse or ane ox fra Jhone [John] Orknay til he cum heir and mak his comptis [accounts] seing he cum nocht [not] to me ther qhen [when] I send for him . . . Qhen thow cumis ower, amongest uther thingis bring my mekle compt buike [large account book] with ye to Thorstoun [Thurston], item my velvot gowne and cloke Remember thy owne jorney with sik convenient speid and surtie of thy persone as may be, and as wes derected. Inerveik [Hamilton of Innerwick] and I baith compt this matter at a point. I vot not how our dochter is pleased I vot not how our vork heir vill swcceid [succeed] for besyd many difficolties in the self, the Kingis prodigaletie, etc. that ar invyeris inventing thortouris and thingis to increse expense God send all vell and preserve the [e] and all ouris.

Thy George Howme.

xi Januar [1598]

(Wedd. MSS. No. 145).

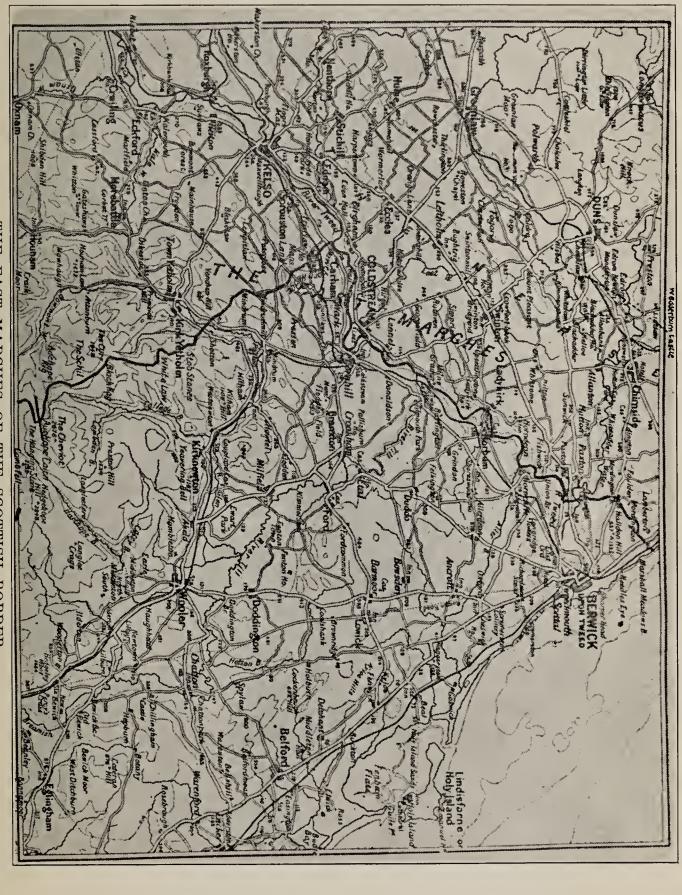
Let us now return to the Rev. Ninian Home of Billie (1670-1746) who after the Rising of 1715 became proprietor of the estates of Wedderburn as a creditor, and under the circumstances recounted. Much has been written concerning this remarkable man. He was the son of Abraham Home of Bellshill and while he was not sure who his grandfather was (his

grandson, George, had heard that he was a gentleman), he thought himself descended from William Home of Saint Leonards who flourished in the sixteenth century. If he were blood kin to the Homes of Wedderburn, it has never been shown, either in his lifetime or since. 18 The clan system prevailed on the Borders and all took the name of the chief though, unlike the Highland clans, they were not all supposed to be descended from one man or even related by blood. Born at Bellshill in the parish of Hume on 5 December 1670, he was intended for the church and received a liberal education, graduating at Edinburgh University in 1693. For a time he was Schoolmaster¹⁹ at Fogo and later acted as clerk for James Daes of Coldingknowes, advocate, whose daughter, Margaret, he married in 1700, having previously been appointed minister of the parish of Preston in Berwickshire (1696). He was afterwards translated to Sprouston in Roxburghshire (1703) but was deposed from this charge (1718) for alleged disaffection to the Government and other causes. By transactions in money he amassed a considerable fortune, and, investing this in land, he gradually acquired extensive property interest in Berwickshire. (Wedd MSS. intro., p. 9; Romanes, Rev. Nin. Home, Berwick Journal, Nov. 7, 1895).

By some he has been considered a disinterested friend of the family of Hume of Wedderburn, who early formed a design of rehabilitating them if possible. By others he is represented as a grasping money lender who aided that unfortunate family from selfish motives. However this may have been we find that his interest began well before the Rising of 1715. In a letter dated at Sprouston 4th November 1713, written by him to Commissary Hume, he reflects somewhat severely upon some legal proceedings which had been taken by Sir Patrick Hume

¹⁸ A query as to Ninian's descent appeared in *Scottish Notes and Queries* for December, 1928, p. 246.

^{19 &}quot;The lot of the schoolmaster in those days was not a happy one, and it was a shamefully ill-paid one up till the end of the eighteenth century. His earnings in a country parish as a teacher, percentos and session-clerk, were only about £12 a year—less than a ploughman's wages" (Scottish Life and History, p. 301). It is thus remarkable that Ninian Home could, no matter by what means, build up a fortune.



THE EAST MARCHES OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER Showing many of the places mentioned in the text.



of Lumsden, Baronet,²⁰ against his son-in-law. (It will be remembered that Sir George Hume of Wedderburn and his brother Francis married respectively, Margaret and Isabel, daughters of Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden). The letter continues that such legal proceedings are contrary, not only to strict equity but also, considering the relationship and Wedderburn's numerous small family, to charity, he justifies his interference in the matter thus:

"It is not easy for me to be modest upon the subject when I reflect upon the pains and trouble, not without some expense, I have been at in prosecuting a design very deliberately formed of having the honor in being instrumentall to preserve the family, not by pleaing and disputing the payment of his just debts, but by frugality. a due application of his funds, and the parting with some of the now laughed-at plumes and indeed useless feathers of the family" (Wedd. MSS., intro., p. 9).

He is known to have given council and succour to the brothers in their distress, obtaining a pass (still in existence) to go to Lancashire for this purpose. He also purchased the freedom of Francis Hume of Quixwood, though he was later transported to Virginia. In Ninian Home's papers we find a bundle marked:

Some Letters, Receipts & Bills & Obligations concerning Mr. Ninian's advancing money for & redeeming Mr. Francis Home from being transported in the Quality of a slave, wherein are Mr. Francis his letter & Receipt of 8 Guineas, a Lewis d'Or & half a guinea lent to him by James Rennie & of other money Lent him by Mr. Ninian wt John Stevenson. Mr. Boskins Letter acquainting me of his laying out money for Mr.

We fear that Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden had a weakness for disagreements at law with his immediate family. Though his father Lord Renton left the estate of Renton to his eldest son, Sir Alexander, he gave the second son, Sir Patrick of Lumsden, powers over the estate so that quarrels sprang up between them, and for some twenty years the Law Courts contain many records of them (Thomason's Coldingham Parish and Priory, p. 165). On September 26th, 1700, Sir Patrick executed a bond of provision in favor of Elizabeth, his second daughter, whereby he directed his executors to pay her 9,000 merks at the first term after his decease. A blank in the bond in Sir Patrick's own handwriting states, "that in caice the said Elizabeth Home shall marrie Francis Home, brother to the Laird of Wedderburn, this bond shall be null and voyd" (Wedd. MSS. No. 262).

Francis his freedom, that he had received my letter of Credit in favour of John Craw, but that he had made his escape together wt Mr. Francis drought upon me for £20 and Mr. Boskins Bill on me for ye like sum pd by me to Richard Murray & Mr. Boskins discharge & Obligation of the sum advanced to Mr. Francis upon my Letter of Credit (No. 16, 23rd Bundle).

Sir George Hume of Wedderburn was pardoned, chiefly, it is thought through the good offices of Lady Grizel Hume,²¹ daughter of Sir Patrick Hume, first Earl of Marchmont, by whom the following letter was written to the Lady Wedderburn, mother of the forfeited Laird. That lady was Isabel, daughter of Sir Francis Liddle of Ravenswood, Knight, in the county of Durham, and sometime Mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. She was alive as late as 1721.

²¹ Lady Grizel Hume, was born at Redbraes Castle, Berwickshire. December 25, 1665. When but 12 years of age she acted a most heroic part on two occasions. Her father, the first Earl of Marchmont, then Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and Robert Baillie of Jerviswood were intimate friends. On the imprisonment of the latter, Sir Patrick sent his daughter, Grizel, from Redbraes to Edinburgh to convey a letter to Jerviswood in prison. In this she succeeded and at that time met his son, George Baillie, whom she afterwards married. During the time of his persecution for adherence to the Presbyterian party he was concealed in the vaults of Polwarth Church, where she went alone every night at midnight carrying food to him, which, to prevent suspicion of the servants, she conveyed from off her own plate into her lap while she was at dinner. In their subsequent exile in Holland she managed all the family affairs, and by her prudent conduct and cheerful disposition lightened the gloom and hardship of their lot. After the Revolution she declined appointment as Maid of Honour to the Princess of Orange (Queen Mary). Her daughter, Lady Murray of Stanhope, wrote a very interesting account of her life which is appended to Rose's Observations on Fox's Historical Work, 1809, also published separately in 1822. She was the author of many well known ballads, one of the best known being, "Were na my Heart Licht I wad dee". She died December 6, 1746, in the 81st year of her age and was buried beside her husband at Mellerstain. An inscription by Judge Burnet was engraved on her tomb. She had a son who died young and two daughters, Grizel, who married Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, Baronet, and Rachel, who married Charles, Lord Binning. Dolman in his essay on the fourteen most beautiful women of Scotland says that Lady Grizel Baillie was second in beauty only to Mary, Queen of Scots. Her father-in-law was that Baillie of Jerviswood who was brought to the scaffold for alleged complicity in the Ryehouse Plot (Paul's The Scots Peerage, VI, p. 17 and Anderson's The Scottish Nation, II, p. 486).

London, 7 February 1717.

Dear Madam:

Jerriswood and I both had letters from you this morning. I'm sorry to find that you are so anxious about your son. I hope your fears will be groundles, therefore, dear Madam, I must beg of you to be easie, for depend upon it, we will do all in our power for him. Do not believe stories that gos about there, for were there anything reall, good or ill, you should hear it from me; and save that he has not the comfort of being with his famely and his friends there, he never was better in his life. I think you are much more to be pitied. Whatever the Government may order about his fortune they will never stop your joynter. Perhaps things may be in confution at present, but it cannot hold so for any time. Jerriswood gives you his humble service; and I intreat you, dear Madam, to be perfitly perswaded that we will acquent you with all that happens, and hope the best, which is much wisht by Madam,

Your affectionat cusine and humble servant,

Gris. Hume.

My service to your daughter and all your sons famely. [Addressed] To The Lady Watherburn.

(Wedd. MSS. No. 270).

So the estates of Wedderburn passed, after three centuries of possession, to a stranger. On February 18, 1729, Ninian Home received a Crown Charter from King George II of the barony of Wedderburn.

The sequel to this story is yet more interesting. Ninian Home had two sons by his first wife, Alexander and George, and he wished his elder son to marry Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn and so consolidate the interests of the two families. Alexander, however, refused to fall in with his father's wishes, as he had set his affections upon the younger sister, Isabel, and her he married; whereupon his father in high displeasure, gave him the estate of Jardinefield as his paternal portion and dismissed him from his presence. His own wife having died in 1723, Ninian Home made up what he may have considered the possible disappointment of the lady by marrying Margaret Hume himself in 1726 and she bore him eleven children.

On January 23, 1733 Ninian Home made a new entail to the estates of Wedderburn. By the terms of the Disposition and

Assignment dated January 23, 1733, the lands of Wedderburn were assigned to David, eldest son of the forfeited Baronet, and the heirs male of his body; whom failing to Patrick Hume, the third son of the deceased baronet, and his heirs male; whom failing to John Hume the fourth son and his heirs male; whom failing to James Hume, youngest son of the deceased Baronet and his heirs male; whom failing, to the heirs female of the said David, Patrick, John and James in turn, whom failing to Margaret the eldest daughter and her heirs, whom failing to the second daughter, Isabel and her heirs, whom failing to Jean, the third daughter and her heirs (succeeding without division), whom failing to Alexander Hume, eldest son of Francis Hume of Quixwood and his heirs male, whom failing to John Hume, second son of Francis Hume of Quixwood and his heirs male, whom failing, to the nearest heirs of David Hume (eldest son of the forfeited Baronet), and their heirs, all of whom failing to the nearest heirs of the said Ninian Home, himself. This entail is recorded in the Sheriff Court Books of Berwick, under date 14th November 1741. By its terms George Hume, the second son of the forfeited Baronet of Wedderburn, was omitted from the succession (except of course as an ultimate heir). This George Hume, who is the ancestor of the family in Virginia, had grievously offended Ninian Home on account, as the family record puts it of "some youthful follies". Thus it was that upon the death of David Hume of Wedderburn (eldest son of the forfeited laird) in 1762 without issue, the estate passed not to the descendants of George, the second son (who had died in 1760) but to Patrick, the third son. The so-called youthful follies in Scotland did not prevent Ninian Home's including George in his disposition of entail of 20th April 1725, four years subsequent to George's departure for Virginia so that it is strange that he took this step eight years thereafter. George in the New World could hardly have incurred his further displeasure. In Ninian's papers we find a bundle of letters from David, eldest son of the forfeited Laird "from which it appears that he had not kept his engagement to me and was far from being sensible of my favours,

with other particulars to be considered in case I be obliged to differ with him, as also letters from Mr. Francis Home, George and Patrick Home wherein they show a sense of my Friendship" (No. 1, 23rd Bundle). That disposition was granted in favor of the six sons of the forfeited Laird in their order, and to their heirs male, whom failing to the three daughters and their heirs without division.

Quite another account of Ninian Home is given us by Lieutenant George Home, R. N., son of Captain Alexander Home, R. N., a claimant for the Marchmont peerage (see below) and great-grandson of Francis Hume of Quixwood. In his clever but exceedingly bitter book, *Memoirs of an Aristocrat*, published in 1838, Lieutenant Home gives us this picture of Ninian Home, whom he calls "Old Griphard":

Both brothers [Sir George Hume of Wedderburn and Franis Hume of Quixwood] found their way with the rebel army to Preston, were seized and sent pinioned to the Tower for their extreme heroism and loyalty to the good old cause but escaped hanging or beheading through the artifices of the family factor, not a second Baillie M'Wheeble [cf. Scott's Waverly] for the Bailie had at bottom a good heart, and withal attached to the Baron, but a crafty priest, who seized this as a famous opportunity of transferring his patron's lands to himself. Fictitious bills and bonds were made out, acknowledging large sums of money, lent to the Baron of W[edderburn] by his factor Ninian Griphard, (who by the way had never been worth a shilling in his life), these were carefully and legally laid before the commissioners of enquiry, by the said Ninian Griphard, and adjudications led accordingly, (I think that is the accursed legal term), upon which the estate of W[edderburn was declared exempt from the crown's right, and found to belong, all and whole, to the said Ninian Griphard. Old Griphard behaved tolerably well upon the occasion; being a widower he graciously condescended to marry one of the Baron's daughters; allowed the old gentleman and his sons, of whom he had six, still to occupy the family mansion, and generously gave them a scanty existence out of their own rents, while my great-grandfather, found his way to America, died in a year or two leaving behind him two sons and a wife, who died of a broken heart almost immediately after her husband's departure, leaving her poor boys not only orphans, but wholly destitute. I cannot leave Old Griphard, without mentioning that he acquired, during his own lifetime, by every species of fraud and chicanery, an immense landed property, and lived and died entirely free from any qualms of conscience for the misery he had brought to the unfortunate family who raised him from rags and beggery" (page 6, et sq.).

In another chapter, he tells us:

"The affair of 1715 was the ruin of our family and the elevation of old Ringan Griphard [Ninian Home]. An astonishing fellow was that Old Griphard. You will be surprised when I tell you that his first appearance in this county was in the capacity of a lean lanky half student, half labourer, with a bag of books upon his back, which contained a few Greek and Latin books, and his scanty wardrobe, humbly soliciting shearing. Through the most miserable penury and hardest drudgery, he at last got qualified as a preacher, got a church from the Baron of W[edderburn], became his factor, and finally supplanted him in his broad patrimonial lands. Those lands had been given us by a Douglas and added too, through a period of four hundred and fifty years, by every succeeding Baron, until by one false step, and the machinations of a villain, the whole passed from our hands into that of a stranger and an alien. No blessing, however has followed the progeny of our supplanter. It is rare that a cradle has rocked within their walls; and with the exception of the present possessor, old Geordy Griphard, I scarcely know if one of that accursed race remains" (p. 279).

Indeed George Home, whom he calls "Geordy Griphard", the grandson of Rev. Ninian Home of Billie, was his last descendant, though by his two marriages he was father of four-

teen children.

Further light is thrown on the character of Ninian Home by the records of the Presbytery of Kelso:

1707, Feby 3—A fama clamosa that Mr. Ninian Home was this day four weeks guilty of gross drunkeness, horrible swearing & quarreling with the Laird of Chatto at Kelso. Chatto examined said he had been brought over by a servant.

Feby 4—Among witnesses for the defense, Mrs. Pringle, Kelso, said Chatto was mad drunk, her daughter, "did not see Mr. Home put up his cravate nor throw off his periwig to fight Chatto".

Feby 24—The Presbytery abandon the libel giving Mr.

1708, July 6—A letter from the Chirnside Presbytery informs the Presbytery of a fama that Mr. Ninian Home of Saturday, 12 June fell from his horse between Manderston & Edrom, was so drunk that he had to be held in the saddle till he crossed the Whitadder & went thence to Billie where he spent the Lordsday. The Chirnside presbytery is written to to collect & attest the facts.

August 24—The presbytery determines to procede against Mr. Home. He produces a declaration by Mark of Houndwood upon my honour & reputation that he had been with him on business at Billie from 1 to 4 o'clock and then left for Sprouston. They both stopped at Manderston's to discuss the said business with him, the Lairds of Billie, Whytfield & Ker of Redden being there also. Mr. Home took only 2 or 3 drams of orange brandy, that he fell certainly and was bruised & stunned but that he saw no signs of drunkenness in him. George Home of Billie upon the word of ane gentleman & Christain adds some plain brandy to the orange, says that the russling of his cloak by the wind made his horse run off and threw him. George Home of Whytfield speaking of what took place at his house Manderston calls it ane malicious report, says they had only a mutchkin & a half of brandy among them & that Mr. Ninian Home put the jug of ale once to his mouth. strongly denies his drunkeness. John Dewer tenant of Houndwood who had been in attendance on his laird also denies it, says that he fell like a dead man & then cried for a chyrurgeon. George More, Billie's servant gives similar evidence & says that he bled him. On these declarations the Presbytery absolve Mr. Home.

1712, May 27—A Report is taken up that Mr. Ninian Home on the 9th of April was drunk in William Handysides house in Kelso was swearing abusing the Laird of Chatto, elder & drinking the Pretender's health. A libel is served and members from other Presbyteries called in as Assessors.

Sept. 9—Mr. Ramsey, Kelso, testifies that Mr. Home was drunk and offensive to Chatto who said if it were not for the company he would make his footman put him to the door. Mr. Home called him a villan & a rascal, said "damn" without adding "you" to it. He did not hear him drink the Pretender's health but Chatto beside whom he sat called them to witness that he had, when Mr. Home said, "you are a little footie fellow you have a principle & you dare not or you have not the courage to own it". Chatto offered to overlook all if he would ask pardon. He could walk and speak well. The

absent witnesses were Sir William Benet of Grabbet & Sir William Ker of Greenhead, Gilbert his brother german, the Laird of Cherrytrees & Smailholm, Wm. Handyside & Isabel Ormiston his wife. The Presbytery on Mr. Ramsay's evidence, Mr. Home owning all except the "damn", closed the case with a serious rebuke.

1716, May 1—Mr. Robert Coleville, Yetholm, along with Mr. Ninian Home is charged with having on April 3 drunk the whole night at Gideon Scott, vintners in Kelso & at 7 next morning gone to Samuel Robinsons change house & continued drinking there till six in the afternoon.

June 5—Mr. Home asks that his case may be delayed as he is about to celebrate the sacrament of the supper in his parish but this is refused & though they give him a week to prepare his answer they say that he ought not to have the sacrament in his parish while the libel is pending.

June 16—Mr. Home admits with regret his long sitting at the taverns but denies drunkeness as they had during the whole time at Scotts only supper and four choppins²² of wine among three or four persons. At 3 o'clock finding it so late he thought waiting till morning better than leaving at such an hour. At Robinsons 7 or 8 persons had among them 2 gills of cherry brandy and 3 choppins of herb ale. He was not in the house the whole time but was for hours walking in the garden. A gentlewoman coming at 7 in the evening they had among them 5 or 6 another choppin of herb ale and 2 gills of cherry brandy which last he did not taste. The presbytery after debate determined that they must consider along with this, the former warnings & his conduct at the late rebellion in refusing to read the proclamation &c.

June 18—Mr. Home complains of the cumulative charge brought against him. The whole evidence in the dispute with Kerr of Chatto is revived in his answers. It is said to have risen out of a pretty warm question which happened between the two knights Sir Wm. Bennet & Sir Wm. Ker.

July 9—A further application for delay being refused he appeals to the Synod. The presbytery however deposes him, he not appearing for sentence when called.

1718, April 1—Mr. Home's deposition by the Commission of Assembly is reported & engrossed.

The chopin, or Scots half pint, was equivolent to one and a half English pints or nearly as large as the U. S. quart. A mutchkin, also mentioned in these records, was half a chopin. Thus the Scots quart was about the equivolent of the U. S. gallon.

The muniments of the Wedderburn family contain a bond of corroboration by David Home of Wedderburn (eldest son of the forfeited Laird) to Patrick Home of Billie (son of the Rev. Ninian Home) narrating that on 23rd January 1733, Mr. Ninian Home of Billy, disponed to him the lands of Wedderburn and baronies of Whitsome and Horndean and others, having previously secured bonds from him for the price thereof, viz., £16,000 Scots, and for the payment of £4,000 Scots to the use and behoof of Mrs. Margaret Home, eldest lawful daughter of the deceased George Home of Wedderburn, and wife of the said Mr. Ninian Home (their contract of marriage being mentioned as made with the consent of Mrs. Margaret Home, Lady Wedderburn, her mother, and as dated 21st April 1726); also that the said Mr. Ninian disponed these bonds to the said Patrick, his second son of his second marriage, of which upon present accounting between them there is found to be still due £1,518 6s. 3d. sterling. The old bonds being handed over to be destroyed this new bond is granted for this sum, secured over the lands above named, and to yield the interest yearly of £75 18s. 3d., until paid. Indorsed 1754. (Wedd. MSS No. 277).

The above document would make it appear that Ninian's generosity to the son of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn was not without its quid pro quo.

Thomson says that Ninian Home was the most influential man in Berwickshire in the middle of the eighteenth century and gives a long list of the loans due him at the time of his death. Twenty or thirty of the lords and gentlemen of the county were in his debt. Among others we find the names of the Earl of Hume, Lord Balmerino, Sir John Hume of Renton, Sir George Dunbar of Mochrum, Sir John Dunbar, Sir John Hall of Dunglass, Sir Alexander Cockburn of Langton, George Hume of Whitfield, Hume of Manderston, George Hume of Kimmerghame, William Home of Slatehouse, and many others. None however owed him as large a sum as did the Laird of Wedderburn against whose name stood the sum of £16,938 10s. Scots and 1,000 merks. David, son of the forfeited Laird

was himself in Ninian's debt in the sum of £12,996 10s. Scots, so that the total amount due the former Minister of the Gospel by the house of Wedderburn was £30,000 Scots. (Coldingham Parish and Priory, p. 212). It is not easy to estimate the equivalent of this sum in money of today. The Scottish pound was originally of the same value as the English but by debasements had depreciated to about one twelfth its original value by the time of James VI. However the greater purchasing power of money two centuries ago would approximately compensate for this so that we may reckon the Laird of Wedderburn's debt to Ninian Home at £30,000 sterling. The Rev. J. Boston in his memoirs (1699) speaks of the Rev. Ninian Home as "a man of great parts but not of proportionate tenderness and was several years ago deposed". Ninian had acquired the lands of Billie by buying up the debts of James Renton, younger, of Billie, and Joan Home, his wife.

So much for Mr. Ninian Home. The inheritance to the lands of Wedderburn under his new entail will be considered below. (Cf. Appendix XLV of Thomson's Coldingham Parish and Priory). It should be borne in mind that Ninian's descendants have failed and that there is no person alive today of his blood.

His lands having passed to the unfrocked Ninian Home, the forfeited baron of Wedderburn spent the remainder of his days at Wedderburn Castle where he died in 1720. In Ninian's papers we find:

Accompt of Money paid by Mr. Ninian Home of Billie for Wedderburn's funeral and mournings to the Lady & children with the Instructions thereof.

To which, in the same bundle there is attached an

Obligation & Declaration by the Lady Wedderburn to Mr. Ninian Home wherby she obliges herself to hold compt to him for £474 3s. and £320 1s. 4d. contained in two Receipts by her to him and for the Expenses of her husband's funerals and Mournings to the ffamily; and ffrancis his apprentice fie [fee] w^t several acc^{ts}. Letters & Vouchers relative to these things (Nos. 1 and 6, 17th Bundle).

Sir George's widow survived nearly all of her children as the letters quoted below indicate. Her petition to the King is as follows:

To the King's Most Excellent Majestie,
Mrs. Margaret Home, spouse to George Home, late of Wedderburne, humbly sheweth,—

That my husband haveing been unfortunatelie engadged in the late wicked and unnaturall rebellion was therefor forfeitted, and I by my marriage settlement being provided to the manner place of Wedderburne and yeards thereof, otherways eight pound six shillings and eight pence sterleing in lew thereof, and ane yearly annunity of one hundered and eleaven pound two shillings two pence half pennie stereling, free of all publict burdens whatsumever, to be uplifted and taken out of the whole estate of Wedderburne, with that annuitie the said estate stands burdened and affected dureing all the days of my lifetime, and for securitie whereof I am seased in the whole estate, and my husband being forfeitted as said is, and I haveing nine children and haveing no thing whereupon to subsist my selfe and my childrin, I am a proper object of your Majesties pity and compassion.

I therefor humblie pray that your Majestie may be graciously pleased out of your princelie bountie to allowe me the manner place of Wedderburne and yeards thereof and the $111\pounds: 2sh: 2p: 1/2d$. sterleing of the yearlie annuitie to be payed to me oute of the rentis and profites of the said estate dureing my lifetime, free of publict burden whatsumever, for mentinance and subsistance of me and my poor childrin, conform to my mariage settlement, and the petitioner shall ever pray for your Majesties happiness and prosperitie. (Wedd. MSS. No. 271).

The following is the family record of the children of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn with the dates of their birth:

David Hume was born the 9 of January, 1697.
George Hume²³ was born the 30 of May, 1698.
Patrick Hume was born the 16 of July, 1699.
Margaret Hume was born the 30 of November, 1700.
John Hume was born the 25 of March, 1702.

²³ The emigrant to Virginia.

Francis Hume was born the 15 of December, 1703.
Isabell Hume was born the 12 of September, 1706.
Jean Hume was born the 8 of May, 1709.
James Home was born the 26 of September, 1714.

(Wedd. MSS. No. 261).

Let us now trace the fortunes of the brother and son of the forfeited Laird, George Hume of Wedderburn, formerly Baronet.

Francis Hume, younger brother of the forfeited baronet of Wedderburn had been admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1703, acquired the lands of Quixwood in Berwickshire in 1708, and married Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden, Baronet (sister of his brother's wife). She survived the strain of his trial and imprisonment but died before he was transported to Virginia. In the following letter to his sister, Mistress Jean Hume, he reflects bitterly on his misfortunes. It is written from Liverpool where he was awaiting transportation as a prisoner to Virginia.

Dear Sister:

It was not (as I suppose youl easily believe) without great anxiety and concern, nor ever was I so surprised in all my life as when I receaved the melancholie news of my poor wife's death, which of all the misfortunes of my life, nothing can be comparable to it. Houever, since it hes pleased God to remove her, I hope in God she is this day in a better place then the best of this world can efford; and I pray God to give me patience under my sufferings and a happy issue out of them. The fear of death seems now to be over, for all in this place signed a petione througinge our selves att his Majesties mercy; so the worst we can expect now is transportation, which to me is the same with death (cf. Scottish Notes and Queries, IV, 3d ser., p. 188, Oct., 1926). But what shall I say since my wifes dead. I could willing be satisfied to be with her, for my satisfaction in this life is over. Yow may desire my mother to use her intrest with my Lord Marchmont to save me from transportation. I have writ to my Lord Forglan²⁴ about it whos son, Captain Ogilve, I saved from be-

²⁴ Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Forglan, Baronet, a Lord of Session. His son was Captain Alexander Ogilvy, whose son, Sir Alexander, succeeded as the seventh Lord Banff in 1727 (Paul's *The Scots Peerage II*, p. 24).

ing killed dead. As to what they are doing in London I know not, so can give yow no account of them. Give my humble [MS. torn], to my mother, my good sister and all the family, praying God to comfort under your present circumstance. Give my service Mr. Anderson, I thank him for his kind letter. Not doubt but youl take all the care you can of the poor children. I am, D. J.,

Your affectionat brother,

Fra. Hume.

Liverpoole, 7 Febryary 1716.

[Addressed] Mrs. Jean Home at Wedderburn, to the care of the Ladie Billie at Berwick upon Tweed. (Wedd. MSS. No. 265).

The hope expressed by Francis Hume in the above letter that Lord Marchmont would save him from transportation was well founded and it is known that the Earl did use his efforts, but having already been able to save Francis's elder brother, Sir George, from death and transportation, he seems to have been unable to do more for the family. This peer was Alexander, second Earl of Marchmont. It is interesting to note in passing that his father, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, before being created Lord Polwarth and later Earl of Marchmont, had himself decided at one time to emigrate to America. This was following his imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle on account of his opposition to the schemes of the Duke of Lauderdale and his remonstrations against the summary proceedings of the Privy Council. "On 29 February 1676, the Council, by order of the King, issued an order for his re-Realizing how insecure was the peaceful enjoyment of his property owing to his active Presbyterian sympathies under a Government whose scarcely veiled religious motives were daily becoming more apparent, he entered into a scheme, along with sundry other Scottish noblemen and gentry whose position was becoming equally precarious, to emigrate to North America. The original plan under consideration was the purchase of New York in conjunction with an English Presbyterian for £15,000 sterling. This, however, was abandoned in favor of a settlement in Carolina. The details of the scheme were well advanced, and the King's approval obtained, when in

1683 the discovery of the mysterious conspiracy known as the 'Ryehouse Plot' was sprung upon the country, and several of the promoters of the projected emigration, including Sir Patrick Hume, being declared participant, the scheme was at once stopped." It was at this time that Sir Patrick was concealed in the vault of Polwarth Church by his daughter Grisell, as mentioned above. After various vicissitudes he reached Holland where he attached himself to the Prince of Orange, coming into his own when that prince invaded Britain. (Paul, The Scots Peerage, VI, p. 13).

It would appear that Francis Hume after having been sentenced to be transported was held for some time in Liverpool before he finally sailed for Virginia. During the period of his stay there he wrote the following letter to his first cousin once removed, John Hume of Renton. The somewhat formal tone was no doubt occasioned by the difficulties between Francis and his father-in-law Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden, Baronet, and those of Sir Patrick with his own brother and nephew. This John Hume of Renton succeeded to the Baronetcy of Renton on the death of his brother, Sir Alexander, in 1717. The letter is:

Liverpool, 14th March 1716

Dear Sir:

I had yours this day and cannot but render yow hartie thanks for this and the many former favours I have had from yow, and doubts nothing of your continuance. Yow will receave enclosed the factory yow sent up, but I doubt my signing of it in prison will (if quarrelled) invalidat it. If I be wrong in filling up the blanks or otherways send me up ane other with particular directions and I will sign it.

[He then gives directions as to certain matters, the titles of Quixwood, etc., and proceeds]:

Whatever you do with any household furniture let not my wearing cloaths, nor scritore or my wifes [chest of] drawers be disposed off, for I do not dispair of seeing yow once more. Our fate is verry uncertain but some would endeavour to perswad us of ane indemnity. However ther ar about 3 or 4 score of the common people amongst us, but non of the gentry

to be put aboard of a ship that is to saill from this in a fortnight for the West Indies. Wither my Lord Forglan concern himself for me or not I know not, but it is verry well knowen here that if I had not been, he now hes a son that this day had not been. Pray let me know by the first post if yow receave this, and yow have any furder orders for me.

I am your most obleidged servant,

Fra. Hume.

Tho I wrote five times to my brother since he went to London, yet he never was once at the pains to lett me hear from him until I wrot on to Whitfeild complaining of him. Neither have I receaved from him on farthing all this time tho he promised to send me some money from London.

[Addressed] Mr. John Home of Rentone, advocat, att his lodgeings in the Parliament Closs in Edinburgh, North Brittain, to be forwarded by way of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. (Wedd. MSS. No. 266).

The following letter from Ninian Home of Billie to Mistress Jean Hume, sister of Francis Hume, adds to the information given in the last letter:

Sproustoun, 2nd April 1716.

Madam,

You will see by the enclosed that the mony and linings and other things sent have come safely to your brother his hand. He wryts to me that he never received a sixpence from his brother nor any from any other person, but the litle he received by my man at Wigam, since he was prisoner. He tells me also he hath not heard from his brother save once, tho he has wryten often to him, and that he has been obliged to comerads for subsistance. They are as yet uncertain what becomes of them, and he wryts they ar all verry mirry tho in prison, and beleive that their removeal will not be sudden. The factory he has sent to Mr. John Home is to George Idingtoun and William Chapman, Sir Patrick's servants, which he will revoke or not as I advise, but in that matter I will not medle. And as to my Lord Home's business and his, he tells me quhair the accounts and instructions are to be found; but knowing you have secured these and what concerns your brother Wedderburn, I need trouble myself or you further with them at present. He desires his wifes [chest of] drawers and scritore may be kept and that you may take for yourself whatever is fit for you. His books he says are not much worth, but that they will be useful to his children if they live. I need not trouble you further save that he tells me nothing Barbara Monilawes brought up came to his hand, she pretending all was stolen from her but two shirts, as he remembers, which he supposes she caried back again, but that the two bundles of cloaths sent by me are received by him conform to what I wrote of them, which I suppose will be verry acceptable news to the old lady and you both; and I am verry glad to understand he is so hearty and mirrie and has so good hopes of seeing us all again; and the little things he has received with the mony will be of great use to him whatever happens. Give my humble duty to your mother and to the Lady Billie²⁵ and her daughters and believe me to be, Mrs. Jean,

Your most humble servant,

Nin. Home.

My wife gives her service to you. You may write upon the other side of the enclosed for your brother to save expense and then seal it and send it off with the first post, and keep your brothers letter to be an instruction of the mony sent to him. The bearer has been so careful that I have given him a crown since his return.

[Addressed] To Mrs. Jean Home, daughter to Wedderburne, att Barwick. (Wedd. MSS. No. 267).

The following letter from Francis Hume of Quixwood to the Rev. Ninian Home of Billie gives an account of the hardships of his voyage to Virginia as a Jacobite prisoner. Three months were required for the journey. This is the first letter written from the New World by a member of the family of Hume of Wedderburn. There is a reference also to his purchase of his "freedom" from those who had it to sell, which, however did not mean that he was to escape transportation.

Dear s^r.

I make no doubt of your receaveing my letter with the bill for 20 lib. I drew upon you as you desired with your own letter to me returned which upon the 13 of July last I receaved aboard the Elizabeth and Ann of Liverpool Edward Traffoord

²⁵ Joan Hume, wife of Renton of Billie. Ninian Home had not yet purchased the estate of Billie.

commander then lying in Liverpoole harbour which came to my hand in the best season that ever any order for money did. The same day I got liberty to go a shoar when I agried with the merchants (as in my last I wrote you) for 10 lib for my freedome. With the other ten pounds I designed to have had a suit of handsom cloaths and some other necessaries but in my then present circumstances being a litle imposed upon by m^r Heskeyne I was obleidged to take from him a piece of base blew cloath at eight shillings the yeard for a coat, the westcoat and breeches was three shillings a yeard which he was to send me aboard when made with some small necessaries and the remainder to be sent me in money. But upon the sixteen by times in the morning being surprised by ane unexpected sudden sailing was obleidged to leave both cloaths other necessaries and money to undertake an American voyage with verry few bodily necessarys and most of those not verry sufficient or so much as one farthings worth either of gold money or credit without freinds aboard or in Virginia whither wee wer bound but was obleidged to make a virtue of necessity. Houever since my landing I have gott my cloaths which mr Heskeyne sent me by ane other vessell which I reckon with no more makeing and altogether then four pounds so that he hes still in his hands about six pounds for which I suppose he was so just as to count with you when he came doun to Scotland which I understand he did some few days after my sailing. If not I hope you'l be so just to yourself and me both as to see about it.

Haveing sailed from Liverpoole on Munday the 16 of July upon Saturday the 21 about 8 at night our ship came to ane anchor in the Cove of Cork in Ireland wher wee lay till Saturday the 28 when about ij [2] at night we sailed for Virginia. I was dureing the voyage notwithstanding ane signed obligation from the merchants concerned to those who purchased their freedomes befor sailing to the contrarie three times put in irons and so continued for some days without the least shadow of reason given either capt or ships crew (but this was not my fate alone). A fourth time I voluntarlie took them to keep my old freind and acquaintance aboard John Broun out of them.

Thursday the 2^d August all the prisoners wer restricted to an English peint and a half of water the 24 hours and tuo biskets and a half but never exceded three which was all my victualls the whole voyage and never tasted anything else except an accidentall dram and that verry rarely which by chance I gott from some of my fellow prisoners who hapned to be better provided then myself. As for the beeff which but verry few of us had the offer of, it was both so bad and extreamly salt that considering the liquor I had durst not eat it. As to our lying [sleeping] we were baisely accommodat frequently being drove out of such beds as wee had by the water for when ther hapned the least of a storme ther was not on [e] dry bit aboard wee had the priviledge to retire to.

Wednesday 22^d August the wind blowing from south west so violently that in one minute our main mast was blown doun even by the deck with our fore and mizen top mast and all caried clear into the sea. And in all probability if it had not pleased God to calme the winds all of us had gone to the Being in this distress wee wer obleidged for tuo days to go wither the wind drove us untill we got up a verry sorie sort of a main mast and tuo as unsufficient top masts. Upon the 27 the winds proveing still cross for Virginia such of us as had purchased our freedom considering the distres of our ship and the danger wee were in signed a declaration offered us by the capt of the loss the ship had sustained and gave our consents wee should be carried to Barbados or any other English plantation wee could first make. Being willing to be at terra firma wee steer'd accordingly touards the south in order to make the trade winds and so far Barbados but after some days sailing the winds again proveing cross to our Barbados designe and so violent because of the unsufficiencie of our ship wee were again driven before the winds sometimes south sometimes west and northwest and so continued till the 23^d of Sept when the winds proveing northerly and north east wee were again obleidged to change our resolution and to steer touards Virginia. Frayday the fifth of Octor wee discovered the land about 12 a clock but being again driven off the cost it was Wednesday the 10 befor wee made up with the capes of Virginia. That night wee dropt anchor within the bay next morneing found the Goodspeed at anchor by us aboard of which was Belchester [Laird of that estate in Berwickshire] Ninian Broun Tho Home James Renton with severall other prisoners all well and in good health who lay tuo or three days by us after wards they sailed furder up the bay for Marieland wher they were all safe landed but can give no furder account of them.²⁶ Saturday the 13 wee sailed up York river and about 9 in the morneing wee cast anchor opposite York toun. On the

²⁶ A group of 180 prisoners were sent to Maryland (London in Jacobite Times, I, p. 198).

17 I was sett a shore to the toun and Rott [Robert] Ker Chattos son [Chatto is an estate in Roxburgshire] along with me as poor as my self John Broun haveing gon a shoar the day before.

Notwithstanding my hard treatment aboard both as to meat drink and otherways yett I never had my health better then dureing the whole voyage and am still so at present. Att my first landing as you may easily judge by what above I wreit you that I had neither money nor credit neither knew how to dispose of myself or how to gett to supply present craveing nature I was obleidged to board myself for a week at 7^{sh} and 6d tho I had no other prospect of paying then by disposeing of some of the readiest of the few bodily necessaries I had along with me but my fortune was more favourable in that criticall juncture for the verry next day I was supplied. Upon the Tuesday thereafter I hired a horse went up to Williamsburg 12 miles distant from York toun the metropolis of Virginia wher the generall court of the country was then sitting and the best of the country gentry wer ther for the time where I immediately made acquaintaincies and found all of them extream civill and wher I was up with the capt for the maletraitment I had with my comerads gott a board haveing given in to the governour and councill a representation against him (the detail of which is needles to trouble you with) which obleidged both himself and the most part of his crew to appear before the governour and court wher he was obleidged to find sufficient bail for his appearance before the Brittish parliament to redress all the prisoners grivances and in tuo days time stood him upwards of a hundred guineas besides a vast deall of trouble and other charges. I stayed att Williamsburg during the sitting of the courts wher I had occasion of converseing with the greatest and most substantiall men of the countrie untill the eight of Nor when I left it and went about sixtie miles furder north to the house of one coll Robert Carter²⁷

²⁷ Colonel Robert Carter, often known as "King Carter" held lands direct from the Crown and also from Lord Fairfax. He was known as one of the wealthiest men in the colony. (Cf Cartmell's Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants, p. 267). He was President of the Virginia Council, 1726-1727. His magnificent estate, Corotoman, on the Rappahannock River to which Francis Hume refers in the above letter, was long since destroyed by fire. Carter's elaborate tomb in Christ Churchyard remains, although sadly shattered (Squires's Through Centuries Three, p. 263). "King" Carter was the great-grandfather of Ann Hill Carter, second wife of "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and mother of General Robert E. Lee.

on the north side of Rappahanock River in Virginia where I have been ever since and supposes may continue whil in this country seeing as yett he and I have agreed verry well and probablie will continue so, He is by every person yealded to be the richest man in Virginia and hes about 300 slaves and servants and a great deall of business so I hope I shall not be altogether destitute in this end of the world more then I was in the other and I meet with from him and his whol family all the civility imaginable.

I have write by the same ship (Capt. Dennison a Glesgow man commander) to Mr. John Spotiswood desireing he would be so kind to write to Coll. Spotiswood his near relation who is deputy governour of Virginia under the Earle of Orckney to lett him know the relation I have to his familie²⁸ who in this place hes the character of a mightie fyne man. I had at Williamsburg the good fortune to be in company with him but could not attack him upon the score of a relation because I could not condescend how or what way. So I hope in case Mr. Spotiswood's letter from me come not to his hand yow'l acquaint him with this and desire the favour of him to write his cousin the governour pr first as desired which favour I hope he will not refuse. As also I desire you may give my most humble duty to Sr Patrick [Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden, Baronet, the writer's father-in-law] and shew him I expect he will now be so kind as not to continue for ever his former prejudices and that he would use his intrest to procure from the Earle of Orckney a letter of recommendation to his deputy governour. Tho att present I am in no necessity of it yett whatever may happen it can do no harm.

John Broun is verry well and setled in Williamsburg at the desire of some of the best gentry there about he gott his freedom since his arrivell here and is in a fair way to do verry well in this place. I hope Chatto will take care to send for his son Robert seeing ther is nothing to hinder him or any of us who are at our liberties from returneing home the governour have-

ing no instructions from court in that matter.

I question not but yow'l use your intrest with Sr Patrick [Hume of Lumsden] and Mr. John [his son] (to whom I have

²⁸ Francis's grandfather was George Hume, younger of Wedderburn who, with his father, fell at the battle of Dunbar in 1650. He had married Katherine, second daughter of Sir Alexander Morison, Lord Prestongrange, a niece of Helen Morison first wife of Mr. Samuel Johnston. Her sister was the grandmother of John Spotswood of Crumstane and of Governor Spotswood. Thus Francis Hume and the Governor were second cousins.

also write) that my children be taken care of but being fullie satisfied in that as also of your care of anything else relating to me I shall say no more. Only I must desire the favour of you to see if their can be conveniently gott and sent me some good shifts and cravats with a handsom fair short wigg. It would do me a singular peice of service for I have no thoughts of returning home for a year or tuo till I see how the world gos.

I expect by the first opportunity yow'l lett me have your return either by some Glesgow ship from whence severalls come every year into this river or otherways as occasion offers and lett me know how all freinds are and particular what is become of by brother and his son [Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet and George his second son] and Ayton [James Hume of Ayton, younger brother of the sixth Earl of Hume] for which I am very anxious. Give my humble service to your lady the families of Home and Wedderburn with all other freinds which would be too tedious to name. I shall trouble you no more but am

Your most obleidged humble servant

Fra. Hume

Direct for me at the house of Coll. Robert Carter Northside Rappahanock river Virginia.

From Coll. Carters 15 Aprill 1717.

[Addressed on the back as follows] To

The reverend

Mr Ninian Home minister of the Gosple att Sprouston near Kelso Teviotdale North Britain

To be left at Sr Patrick Home of Renton [Lumsden] Advocat his lodgeings in the Parlia-

ment Closs Edinburgh

Edinburgh

North Brittain.

(Minutes of Evidence, Marchmont Peerage Case, House of Lords Session Papers, No. 103 of June 9, 1843, p. 409).

The petition of the "Rebel" Prisoners to the Governor of Virginia of which Francis writes in the above letter is preserved in the Virginia archives (MS. in Va. State Libr.) and is as follows:

Unto His Excellency, Governor Spotiswood of Virginia

> This humble representation of the Gentlemen and others, Prisoners transported aboard the Elizabeth and Anne of Liverpool from Britain to York, in Virginia:

Whereas pursuant to the orders of the Government we are brought to this place which as is humblie conceded is all that we are obliged to perform, Nothwithstanding to our great surprise we were not only before our coming off from Liverpool but even since our arrivall in this Country are menaced and threatened to be bound in a solitude of a certain number of years, yea and a good many of us actually disposed of and all this to make up a sum of money for Sir Thomas Johnstone, Parliament man from Liverpool (who pretends a right to us), and some other merchants concerned with him in this matter. Wherefore we are obleidged to apply ourselves in all Submissiveness to your Excellency for Justice, seeing we humblie imagine that upon our being transported to this place, the intent of the Government to be fulfilled and no more lyable to any further punishment, since by the known laws of Britain, not only in the reign of the late King Charles, but more particularlie extended, ratified and approven in the eight year of the late King William that even in the cases of treason and Rebellion, no man can be transported out of the Kingdom unless he be first judiciallie convict of the crime and likewise give his free consent to the transportation in open Court. Far less can any British subject without consenting thereto be sold or oblidged to serve for any space of years unless the former Laws be either altogether abrogate or the effect of them suspended for a certain time—neither of which as we conceive can here be pretended. Wee are all of us now taken from aboard the ship, and the remaining part of us imprisoned in York Town (where our entertainment is very ordinary) except 7 or 8 of our number, who each of them pay the Master of the Ship 5 guineas for their passage, who are still detained aboard, upon what design wee conceive not, only two of that number excepted, John Stewart and William Maxwell, who upon Sunday last were carried from aboard, and taken up the River upon what design wee know not. It is therefore hoped your Excellency will consider our present circumstances and give such orders for our liberation as in Justice you shall see fitt, or be pleased to call one or two of our number before you

and hear us upon the subject. (Cf. Scottish Notes & Queries, 3rd Ser., IV, October, 1926, p. 188).

Francis Hume seems to have thought himself free to return to Scotland if he chose, but it appears probable that he would have had to have special permission so to do, and it is doubtful if it could have been obtained. The Act of Grace was passed 6 May 1717 but was slow to take effect (Lond. in Jacobite Times, p. 280). Governor Spotswood, his second cousin, was a friend in need to him and finally Francis became factor (manager) of the Governor's property.

Francis was not destined to see the Tweed again. He died prior to the arrival in Virginia of his nephew George, as will be related below. By his wife Isabel, second daughter of Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden, Baronet, he had two sons, Alexander, who died unmarried (after 1752), and John (died 1791), from whom were descended the claimants to the Marchmont peerage (see below). He is the ancestor of the Homes of Paddockmire in Scotland but, as far as is known, has no descendants in America. Macaulay's *Epitaph on a Jacobite* might well have been placed on his tomb:

To my true King I offered, free from stain,
Courage and faith; vain faith, and courage vain;
For him I threw lands, honours, wealth away,
And one dear hope, that was more prized than they.
For him I languished in a foreign clime
Grey-haired with sorrow in my manhood's prime...

Let us now consider the fate of George, the second son of the forfeited Sir George Hume of Wedderburn. He was born at Wedderburn Castle on 30 May 1698, O. S., and was baptized in the Parish of Duns, 4 January 1698-9, O. S. He was, as we have seen, involved in the Rising of 1715 but while a noli prosequi was not granted him as his father had hoped (see his father's letter, page 18), there seems to have been no definite action taken against him though he remained in prison for some time. He was but seventeen years of age when the Rising of 1715 took place. His four younger brothers became officers of the Royal Navy but this career was not open

to him as a convicted Jacobite. The opportunities at that time in Scotland for a second son, particularly the second son of a forfeited Jacobite, were not many, and he seems to have tried without success to adapt himself to the changed order of things. He was no great favorite with Ninian Home and this was in the end the final cause of his emigration to Virginia. According to notes in the family papers at Wedderburn Castle, "Ninian was grievously displeased at him for certain youthful piccadillos or follies", and he finally decided to exclude him from the new entail he was making for the Wedderburn lands. Under the circumstances his father and aunt were powerless to help him, though there is evidence that they tried.

The following letters from The Rev. Ninian Home of Billie to Lady Wedderburn give information of several of her children, and throw further light on her second son George's having offended him.

Edinbr 9th Decembr 1720.

Madam,

I am truly grieved for George [her second son] his unaccountable carriage for it seems he will have his humour with all hazards however he shall not find his interest in behaving so. The sooner you are mistress of your contract of marriage and infeftment the better, and I do not incline you should delay calling for ym [them] and I presume you should insist upon his doing something immediately towards repairing the house if he [i. e. her brother Sir John Hume of Lumsden, Baronet, see next letter] intend reallie to do what he wryts for if it be delayed the next summer will go over also. And y for [therefore] it will not be amiss you put him to declare himself as you did with respect to the lads and if he refuses we must do the best we can. The reason why I am for putting him to it is that should I proceed to do anything without him he will pretend his offer and friendship was slighted and I desire to shun giving him that pretext and you may wryt that if he be disposed in earnest to do you yt kindness its fit he should do it immediately and if not beg of him to declare himself yt you may think of some oyr [other] way and I do assure you the tyme is far gone already for if it be not set about presently it will not be got finished this summer.

The state of my health is much as befor. The cough continues still. I give your laps [ladyship] hearty thanks for

your kindness and must own yt I am not so easie in my own mind any wher from my own house as in yours. Tell ffrankie [Francis, her fifth son] I am glad to hear his mr [master] is pleased with him for so David [her eldest son] wryts and assure him I shall be mindful of his lances and anything els he These should have comed out with the carier if I had not been affraid of his loosing ym [them] because so small a thing. Your good frind and neighbour at a botle of wine last week in Steels as a gentleman in the company told me next day said it was a verry strange thing yt [that] the comrs [commissioners, i. e. of the forfeited estates] for ought he heard had given no directions about Wedderburn's estate for his part he did not envy any favour was shown to any person only he could not comprehend how y' [they] came not to appeal the lords sentance in the case of [George Hume of] Whitfeild and not medle w^t Wedderburn tho' appeald grby [whereby]he pointed as if I had a way of manadging ym [them] yt [that] none els had.

I am

Madam

Yor laps [ladyship's] most humble servant Nin: Home

The Lady Wedderburn Att Wedderburn

This (Marchmont Peerage Case, House of Lords Session Papers, 1843, No. 103, page 380).

A few days later the second letter was written. Madam,

At length receive a case of lancies ffor Frankie [Francis, her fifth son]. If I have been long in sending y^m [them] I have endeavoured to make amends by ye numer [number] & goodness. Hugh Paterson the surgeon choiced y^m and sent y^m to me by Baillie Baird and I gave the Baillie eleven shillings sterling for y^m to give Mr. Paterson who sayes they are singularly good and y^t he is better provided of lancies by y^t case than most masters. If you think proper to take out two or three of y^m and put two or three cheap lancies in their place you may and if you do it be sure not to touch y^m with your hand least they rust. But if Frankie be wise & use y^m well he may keep y^m all and tell him from me y^t if he carry weell & mind his business he shall want no encouragment and have

better breeding than his Brother had. But if he carry as George [her second son] does he will be neglected as George shall certainly be by me. When I reflect upon q^t [what] I did for him & how handsomely he was used & taken care of qu [when] here and with how much discretion & affection your Laps [Ladyship] was pleased to behave towards him. You give me no account of him but I hear with regret qt he is & how he behaves. Pray let me know qⁿ [when] he was with you and if you had any discourse wt him. I am glad truly glad to hear doctor Patr [her second son Patrick, Surgeon, R. N.] is safe. He is come in tyme to see the execution of his comerad the first mate of ye Worcester who is now condemnd. Tell Johnie [her third son John, afterwards Captain, R. N.] he must now think of going off at least win [within] a month and I presume he wants nothing but the little money which he shall have.

I have read yours to your broy [brother, i. e. Sir John Hume of Lumsden, Baronet and as to the house you could say no more. It is discreetly wryten and yet abundantly pressing. I shall not doubt of his giving you a positive answer as you deseir. I admire he has neither sent your contract & infeftment nor given you an answer. I am at a loss to think qt [what] design he has in acting such a part. If he have no mind to send ym [them] you furnish him wt ane excuse in deseiring y [they] may be sent not with he carrier but the first sure hand but if he wrap y^m [them] carefully up they will come as safe wt ye carier as by any person and yrfor [therefore] you may wryt to him to send ym [them] by the carier next week or if you please to cause inquire qⁿ [when] Sandie Chrystie is to be here wen I suppose will be next week and give him orders to call for ym [them] Give my service to mrs Home [Miss Jean Home, sister of the forfeited Laird] & tell her I am not able to wryt to her this night oy wise [otherwise] I should not have neglected my duty further. I have let blood this day wen with the pain in my breast makes wryting uneasie y for [therefore] David [her eldest son] must excuse my not wryting this week. Give him my service and tell him I thank him heartily for all his good offices and if I live I shall be even with him. I resolve so soon as I go out to meet wt his uncle [Sir John Hume of Lumsden, Baronet] and shall take my own way to introduce a discourse about Wedderburn's papers which I understand he designs by no means to part with wen is truly hard & injurious. wryt to him next week I cannot think it were amiss for you to wryt that David is very anxious to be master of any papers y' [that] either your father or I have put us together and you may add yt [that] I write I never had any paper or papers y' [that] concerned the family as indeed I never had nor could have ym [them] Sir Patr [Sir Patrick Hume of Lumsden, Baronet, her father] keeping all thess and you may add yt [that] nothing will satisfie him till he get ym [them] and yt [that] you think it is hard to deny him yt [that] satisfaction if he get no more and y' [that] you wish your broy! [brother] would comply wt his desire & ease his mind so far. I am able to wryt no more and y for [therefore] must defer giving you the trouble how to make a little ale for me in case I come to ye country. Untill I have occasion of wryting again. Tell Tebie [Isabel, her second daughter] she will be most welcome to all here and will have abundance of young ladies for this night ther are 4 or 5 with Peggie [Margaret, her eldest daughter who later became Ninian's second wife] and verry merry by y^mselves [themselves].

I am

yor most humble servant Nin. Home

Edinb^r 22 Decemb^r 1720.

Send Sanders his purse in w^{ch} I have wrapped up ye lancies. I dare say many of the sclaits [slates] are off the house with the extraordinary wynds. I reallie minded [thought of] you qⁿ [when] it blowed so hard here. Let me know how the house did stand it. (*ibid*, page 407).

George Hume did not actually arrive in Virginia until 1721, the exact date not having been found. The first record of him in the New World is a pathetic and much quoted letter to Ninian Home, giving a picture of some of the difficulties of newcomers in the Colony. The "distemper" to which he refers was probably malaria, which carried off many of the early colonists. (cf. Blanton's Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.)

Rappahannock River, June 20 1723

Sr,

We had no sooner landed in this country but I was taken immediately wth all y^e most common distempers y^t [that] attend it but y^e most violent of all was a severe flux of wth my uncle died being the governour's factor at a place called Ger-

mawna [Germana]²⁹ in the upper parts of y^s Colony whom he berried there and put pails about his berrial place web is not very common in y^s [this] country. I went & saw it as soon as I was able to ride. Y' [that] distemper brought me so low in a very short time yt I was scarce able to walk, however I was oblidged to tend yo store for all my being so ill till we had done purchasing tobaco for ye ships loadning we took me about six weeks when I was so much out of ordre yt I was oblidgeed to go to Williamsburg by water where I met wth Dr. Brown³⁰ who I suppose gave you an account last year of my condition. He declared to my selfe after he had almost cured me of ye flux yt [that] he did not expect I should have lived. I waited on ye governour ye day after I went to town & delivered ym [them] Spotswood's letter. He was seemingly very kind to me & talked to me very friendly but he told me it was out of his power to do anything for me he being put out of his place and he had so many wth ym that he was oblidged to put away some of ym whom he could best spare then qt [what] to do I could not tell however I advised wth Dr. Brown who was of ye opinion I should return home as soon as I could.

What little money I had I was oblidged to spend it at Wms-Burg the time I was their sick wen was about five weeks, indeed your Dr took nothing for my druggs. All that comes to this country have ordinerly sickness at first wen they call a seasoning of wen I shall assure you I had a most severe one when I went to town.

I got but little for my storekeeping for all yt went to pay my passage for whenever my cosen John Watson at Port Glasgow told the merchants there qt [what] you had written to him was the occasion of my going away so hastely they would not allow me to go but to come home again and they sent to Whithaven (because we were driven in there by stress of wather) to desire our Captain to send me home but he proved so much my friend when he saw me so fond of going

²⁹ Gov. Spotswood's settlement of German emigrants, brought to Spotsylvania County to operate the iron works.

³⁰ This was Dr. John Brown of Coldstream, Scotland, who was transported to Virginia as a Jacobite prisoner on the same ship with Francis Hume, and is mentioned in Francis's letter to Ninian Home above quoted. He practiced medicine in Williamsburg and was widely known as a skillful physician. His wife Margaret died in 1720, aged 36, and is buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard, Williamsburg. He married secondly Mildred Washington, and died on September 24, 1726, his widow remarrying Colonel Henry Willis of Fredericksburg (William & Mary Quart., VI, p. 253).

(for he was always very kind to me) that he got me in another ship and I was to keep yo store for my passage of woh I was very glad & accepted of it so yt you may know by yt I could be but very poor in purse & I did not know qt [what] hand to turne myself to for I could get no bussiness for unless one have very good recommendation there is no sort of business to be got in y^{*} [this] Indian country. Wherefore I would have traveled farer where I was informed I would have been better if I could have got any money but this is yo worst place for y' I could have pitched upon for there is so little in y' country y' [that] I believe a great many of ym [them] does not know it if they saw it only. They make a parcill of tobaco wen they make to buy themselves cloaths and makes it go from one to another innstied of money and that is all they seek after here so y' if nothing fall out better for me next year, if it be possible for me to get a little money & cloaths together I design for farrer abroad either to Jamaica or y West Indies which ever of them I can get ye best accounts of. I thought to have gone to New York little after I came here when I found so little incouragement here wen is not far from yo [this] place but I could never be worth so much as to carry me it being very dear traveling yt way. I hear brother Pattrick is there surgeon of yo Grayhound man of warr lying in yo station.

Mr. Petter Chambers has been very kind to me in y^s place, in assisting me wth several necessaries which I could not want & which it had been very hard for me to get unless he had assisted me, such as shoos and stockings for ever since I came into y^s country I have never gained anything for my selfe unless it be sometimes a small parcill of tobaco w^{ch} I get for writting. Everthing of cloathing is most unreasonably dear it being three times as dear as in Scotland so y^t y^t is y^e greats^t strait I am att.

I have not had my health very well in ys country as yet but however I have it much better than I had it last year only I am now and then troubled wth ys fever & ague wth is a very violent distemper here. This place is only good for doctors & ministers who have very good encouragemthere.

I must own I think it the hight of impudence for me to write to you wen was the occasion of my not writting last year but having incrotched so far on your good nature formerly and still have found you my very well wisher I hope you will excoose me for tho' at that time I did not adhere to your good advice yet now I see my folly and I wish to God I had given more ear to you and less to some others. It had been better for me and many a time now it makes melencholy to think of

my follies and despising my best friends advice which you have always been wherefore, dear sr, let this be my excuse.

I designed to have writtne to my mother but after I had bethought with my selfe how much I had disoblidged and how far I had been out of the way to her who I may now say (if I had considered it right at that time) was the best of mothers to me for which I pray God and she may both forgive me which as long as I am on this side of time I am oblidged to pray for and it makes me that I shall never forget the verse which I remember I learned long agoe which was

"O mihi praeteritos referat si Jupiter annos"31

Neither can I have the impudence to send my duty to her unless you will be pleased to give it and to interceed for me but you have interceeded there for me so oftne that I can scarce desire it now and if I were to serve you on my knees while I lived it would scarce be a recompence for all such favoors which I have received from you. I have yet another favoor to ask of you which is that you will be pleased to let me hear from you how you and all friends are. I stay in the upper part of Essex county³² on Rappahannock river. If you please to write let it be directed to Mr. Chamberses care who will forward it to me. He lives on the same river but farrer down. I desire you will be pleased to give my duty to all your family, my grandmother [Lady Wedderburn, Isabel, daughter of Sir Francis Liddle of Ravenswood], my aunt [Jean Hume], to Mrs Home³³ and all my brothers And I am and always shall think my selfe

D^r sir your most humble and obliged servant to [word torn away] G. home

³¹ Virgil's Aeneid, Book VIII, line 560, translated by Dryden "O would Heaven my strength and youth recall". "Classical education in Scottish burgh schools was often excellent. In those poor buildings where met in classes the sons of Lairds and weavers, of noblemen and farmers, a knowledge of Latin—which was not then given in College—was acquired, which gave a skill in reading classics and writing respectable Latin verses to Scots Country gentlemen in the beginning of the eighteenth century which few of their descendants possess". (H. G. Graham's Aspects of Social Life, Scottish Life and History, p. 301).

³² Spotsylvania County was formed, in part, from Essex County in 1720.

³³ This was, of course, Ninian's first wife, Margaret Daes. She died in 1723 and Ninian married George's sister, Margaret, in 1726.

Virginea June 20 1723

To Mr Ninian Home of Billie att his loodging forgainst the Magdalen chaple in the Cougate

Edinburgh

(Aspinwall's Transcripts, Kennedy's Cal., 1905, p. 606, Va. State Library).

So began George Hume's life in Virginia. To have the background of the picture one must remember that Virginia was an English colony. After James VI of Scotland succeeded to the throne of England as James I (1603), the two kingdoms remained entirely separate for more than a century. Thus, prior to the union of England and Scotland to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain (1707), Scots were foreigners in Virginia and with no more rights than other foreigners (cf. Landmarks of Old Prince William, II, p. 371).34 Even in London James's Scottish subjects were none too welcome, and received but scant consideration from their The fact that Robert Dinwiddie, Governor own monarch. of Virginia during the French and Indian War (see later letters of George Hume), was a Scot is often given as one of the causes of his many disagreements with the Virginia (cf. Koontz's The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763, colonists. p. 46).

Governor Spotswood was a Scotsman (though born in Tangier) and his relationship to the family of Hume of Wedder-

³⁴ This no doubt accounted in part for the dread of the Scottish prisoners taken at Preston, of transportation to the plantations. Many, too, remembered the treatment accorded earlier prisoners of war sent as slaves to Virginia, Jamaica, Barbadoes and other English colonies. A letter dated 3 December 1666, from the Governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley to the Secretary, Lord Arlington, sets forth that "some Scottish gents. have desired me to mediate with your Lop [Lordship] to procure them leave to come from Scotland to Virginia. I would not dare to importune in their behalf if I did not know it was not prejudicial to the Kings service, finding in these dangerous times that they have been very useful to us, and I join with them in soliciting His Majesties license at least as long as these times of trouble last". (Aspinwall's Transcripts, XV, p. 103, Va. State Libr.). On 10 September 1651 the Council of State ordered that a batch of prisoners, 1610 in number, taken at the battle of Worcester, be transported to Virginia, but to have Christian usage (Stainbury's Abstracts, IV, p. 58, Va. State Libr.).

burn is mentioned in several of the letters. He had obtained the freedom of George's uncle, Francis Hume of Quixwood, and made him his factor, and possibly would have aided George but for his removal from office. He was succeeded as Governor of Virginia in 1722 by Hugh Drysdale.

Many of the letters exchanged between George and his brothers and sisters, as well as other relations, have been preserved and it is doubtful if there exists elsewhere a more complete correspondence between a colonial emigrant to Virginia and his family in Europe. Some of these letters were published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* in 1912 (XX, pp. 381-421). The mode of their transmission is interesting, the services of colonial merchants being used. James Hunter of the town of Duns about a mile and a half from Wedderburn Castle in Berwickshire was the nephew of William Hunter, merchant of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and through their help the letters were dispatched.³⁵

"Nor should crop merchants correspond, On t'other side the Herring-Pond, Their pick'd and cull'd Tobacco send, In weighty cask, to some sly Friend, etc." (Cf. Md. Hist. Soc., Fund. Pubs. No. 36, p. 48).

On his side the merchant had his troubles for after the competition for cargoes became keen he was forced to make the long voyage without assurance that he would obtain a cargo of tobacco, and frequently his stay was greatly protracted, and he was put to great expense in going about looking for a cargo. In making credit advances to unknown planters the risk of bad debts was enhanced. Furthermore there was no established market in England. Tobacco was of course practically the only import brought from Virginia. (L. C. Gray, The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco, Wm. & Mary Quart., 2nd. ser. VII, p. 231, 1907). However, the Tobacco Inspection law of 1730 of Governor Gooch inaugurated in the colony an era of prosperity and consequent extravagance the like of which had never been known before. Now

Glasgow, making the Virginia merchants the most prosperous men in Scotland. . . . These "tobacco lords", as they were called, were much envied (Social Life in Scotland in 18th Century, p. 130). The "consignment system" by which the merchant acted only as the agent of the planter, who remained the regular client, was a source of serious abuses and disadvantages from the standpoint of the planter. The indebtedness of the planter placed him largely at the mercy of the merchant and compelled him to accept the results obtained by the latter, however unsatisfactory. The system depended to an undue extent on the honesty and fairness of the merchant. In 1730 the popular feeling was reflected in a stanza of the poem Sotiveed Redivivus which runs:

Here is a letter, written on the same day as the last, to James, son of the Reverend Ninian Home of Billie by his first marriage. He was about George's age and they had been friends as boys. In Ninian Home's records of the members of his family, he notes that his son James was born on 29 August 1701 and died "of a decay" on 4 April 1724. In a later letter, James's brother, Alexander Home of Jardinefield, who married George's sister, refers to this friendship.

Virginea Rappahannock River June 20, 1723 Dear Jamie:

I would have written to you last year but I always delayd till I saw if I could get any bussiness wen made me delay it so long till all ye shiping were gone & besides ye [that], having so very highly disoblidged your father who I find now to have been my best of friends, I could not write to any unless to him which I could not have ye confidence to do tho I have takne it upon me ys year for I cannot let myself think but he is still my very well wisher & if I had takne more of his advice than I did it would have been more to my advantage than I can mention. I find there is nothing to get here without very good recommendation. Tho mine was good yet it did me no manner of service because just as I came into y^o country y' Gov. lost his place & another came in not long after, but I thank God I made a shift to live & yt is all. I cannot get a pint of good topany [two penny]36 to drink your healths for all our drink here is water & sometimes rum but y' is very dear & very little money to buy it. Cloaths and linnin are very dear in ys Indian Country, yea I truly think ym three times as dear as at home. Tobacco is all ye comodity here. I have had but very ordinary halth in y's country as yet, especially last summer and fall but I begin to think a little better with ye place, wen I suppose you will hear from your father for I have given a full accompt of it. I believe indeed I should have died if Dr Brown had not stood my friend at Williamsburg, from which place I am now at a great distance above

were built some of the most famous Virginia mansions. British merchants battened on the propensity of many planters to spend their to-bacco as fast as they got it (Va. Mag. Hist. & Biogr., XXXV, pp. 334, 367).

³⁶ It was not until 1750 that whiskey began to supersede ale or "two penny" (from its costing 2d a Scots pint) as a popular beverage in Scotland (Scottish Life and History, p. 290).

an hundred miles. I hope I shall hear from you with the first shiping and direct for me to yo care of Mr Peter Chambers on Rapahannock River Virginea. I desire you will give my service to my friend Hendry Scrimsiour and Dickson, Mr Helen & Mary Rentons³⁷ and all other friends, and I am, Dr Jamie,

Your Most humble and obliged servant,

G. home.

I desire you may not forget to give my services to Mr. George Home³⁸ and tell him I shall be very glad to hear from him.

To Mr. James Home, son of Mr. Ninian Home of Billy ate Edinburgh.

George, taking advantage of his education, turned to surveying as a livelihood, an occupation looked upon with respect in the colony. He obtained from the College of William and Mary the necessary permission to engage in this field in 1723,³⁹ and the records of nearly every county in the colony contain references to his surveys. The work as shown below, brought him into intimate relationship with George Washington. He was also associated with Peter Jefferson (eight years his junior), likewise a county surveyor and father of President Thomas Jefferson. The map of colonial Virginia herewith shown is largely the work of Peter Jefferson.

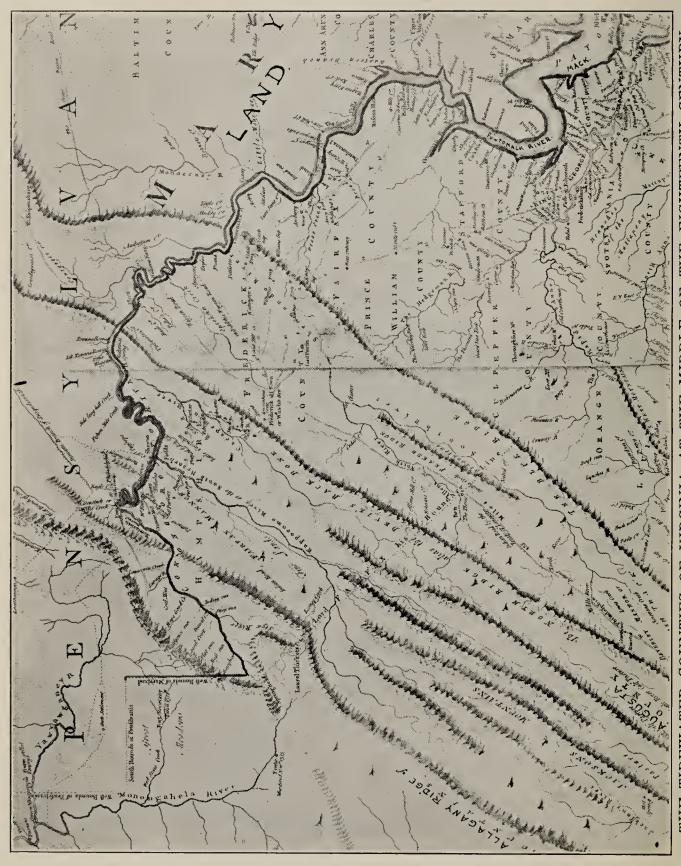
He was Surveyor of Spotsylvania County in 1728 as shown by the following entry in the Journal of the Virginia Council:

³⁷ Daughters of David Renton of Billie and Joan Hume, his wife. Ninian Home acquired the estate of Billie from them, it being heavily burdened with debt.

³⁸ Probably George Home of Whitfield who was "out in the '15" with the writer and his father (see page 17), and whose estate was forfeited.

³⁹ The College of William and Mary (founded 1693) had the sole right of commissioning surveyors. By the Act of the General Assembly of Virginia passed 23 October, IV Anne (1705) the stated oath was prescribed together with penalties for failure faithfully to perform the duties of the office (Hening's Statutes, III, p. 329). By the Act of 1 August, IX Geo. II (1736) the county Surveyors of certain counties, one of which was Orange, were required to reside in that county under a penalty of forfeiting £10 sterling for every month that they might reside out of the same (Hening's Statutes, IV, p. 511). Other Acts bore on this, cf. Tyler's History of Williamsburg, pp. 30, 155.





THE TIDEWATER COUNTIES OF VIRGINIA AT THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY Showing the principal places noted in the letters of George Hume of Culpeper County and his brothers. (Part of Fry and Jefferson's map).

Meeting on 2 May 1728

Petition of Henry Willis stating that 12 months ago he made 2 several surveys with Mr. Augustine Smith, Surveyor of Spotsylvania County in the name of his two sons etc; that Mr. Smith neglected to survey the said entry during his continuance of office and that Mr. George Hume, the present Surveyor, either by misinformation or some mistake has conveyed 1500 acres of the above land in one entire Tract, without distinguishing the shares belonging to each respectively, and praying that the said land may be divided & separate patents granted to his sons Robert & John, according to the true intent of the said entry. The Governor and Council order the Surveyor of Spotsylvania County to divide the 1531 acres into 2 equal parts and return separate surveys thereof into the Secretary's Office, as he ought to have done before, without further charge to the Petitioner, etc. (Va. Mag. Hist. & Biogr. XXXIII, p. 18).

George made his home in Spotsylvania County and here spent the remainder of his life. After the County of Orange was set off from that of Spotsylvania in 1734, and that of Culpeper from Orange in 1748, he lived in them, though his land had originally been in the older county. He is usually, particularly in British records, designated as "of Culpeper County", in which county he died.

George Hume was married on December 16th, 1727, in Spotsylvania County to Elizabeth, daughter of George Proctor of Saint George's Parish of that county. George Proctor had borne arms in Bacon's Rebellion⁴⁰ and was one of the signers of the petition for forgiveness that was sent to the King on February 6, 1676 (Wm. & Mary Quart. XI, p. 79). He was the author of the Bill of Grievances for Surry County, 1677, to the Royal Commissioners sent to Virginia to investigate the causes of the late rebellion (Va. Mag. Hist. & Biogr. II, p. 170). The marriage is recorded in Spotsylvania County Will Book A, page 15, and also appears in:

⁴⁰ In the list of soldiers who "entered this day on ye country's pay (July 10, 1676)", there is the name of Lieutenant David Hume, of Middlesex County, Virginia. These men were called into service "by virtue of a late Act of Assembly", for suppressing Bacon's Rebellion (Va. Mag. Hist. & Biogr., XII, p. 197). This officer's name appears in other Militia Lists. Who he was is not known.

An Account of ye Governor's Dues
Being a list of Persons who have paid the fee for
marriage Bonds as required by law

George Home and Elizabeth Proctor 1727 Xber 16, (Order Book No. 1; of Crozier's Spotsylvania County, p. 84).

It may be mentioned in passing that this reference to "X-ber" has sometimes incorrectly been interpreted as October instead of December. December was the tenth month of the year in the "Old Style" calendar. The record in the Will Book is moreover given as December.

In his will, dated Spotsylvania County, March 23, 1730-1, George Proctor devises property to his daughter Elizabeth Home (Crozier's Spotsylvania County, 193), and there are a number of deeds of land from George Proctor to "my lawful daughter Elizabeth and George Home her lawful husband" (Crozier, 102) and others "for the love and affection I bear to my lawful begotten daughter Elizabeth, and George Home her lawful husband, and more especially in consideration of the Nuptials between them", etc. (Crozier, 103). These proofs of George's marriage are noted at length as one of the claimants for the Marchmont peerage (see below) tried to prove that no such marriage occurred.

Despite his former service in the Jacobite army, George was commissioned a Lieutenant in the Colonial Militia in 1729 and served on several occasions against the Indians, as his letters show. His commission is thus recorded in the records of Spotsylvania County:

A LIST of the Officers of the MILITIA of SPOTSYL-VANIA COUNTY who, producing their Commissions before the Court of His Majesty's Honourable Justices for the County aforesaid, took ye oath as directed by law . . .

Major Goodrich Lightfoot
Captain Robert Slaughter and his officers:
Francis Kirkley and William Peyton.
Captain John Scott and his officers:
Joseph Hawkins and John Lightfoot
Captain William Bledsoe and his officers:
James Williams and George Home.

took ye oath, September 2, 1729. (Order Book for 1724-1730, page 332, cf. Crozier's Spotsylvania County, p. 514).

The need for militia service at this time arose from wars between the Indian tribes. On 26 March 1729, Lieutenant Governor Gooch, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, speaks of "the feud between two tribes of Indians, the Nottaways and the Saponies", and expresses fear that "mischief may befall the English outplanters". He then urges the need of militia officers to instruct the militia in the use of arms, etc. (Aspinwall's *Transcripts*, IX, p. 435, Va. State Libr.).⁴¹

In 1733 George Hume was the Crown's representative in the survey of the Northern Neck of Land in the famous suit of Lord Fairfax of Cameron. The boundary of the great tract of land granted to Lord Culpeper, grandfather of Lord Fairfax, was the *greater* branch of the Rappahannock River. The suit was for the purpose of deciding whether the South (the Rapidan) or the North branch of the river were the chief stream. Slaughter states: "Mr. Graem with Mr. Hume as Assistant was commissioned on the part of the Crown, and Mr. Thomas on the part of Lord Fairfax, to survey and measure the South Branch of the Rappahannock (the Rapidan), from the fork to the head of the stream, and return an exact map of the same, describing all the runs and creeks that run into it" (Hist. of St. Marks Parish, Culpeper Co., p. 24).

the number of militia from 6570 horse and foot, the strength fixed in 1690, to about 14,000 in 1715, supposing the latter to represent a sixth of the population of Virginia, or 84,000 exclusive of negroes. The letter further mentions the necessary defenses against French encroachments (Aspinwall's Transcripts, IX, p. 30, Va. State Libr.). Colonial troops were also needed on account of the existing war with Spain which, as far as the Colony was concerned, was terminated by the Governor's proclamation of the cessation of hostilities on 24 July 1730 (Aspinwall's Transcripts, IX, p. 493). In his report of 1755 Governor Dinwiddie estimates the number of inhabitants of Virginia as 230,000 (white and black). Each of the 50 counties had a County Lieutenant, a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major, and "according to the largeness of the County the Militia is divided into Companies, each Company having a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign. Our Militia may now amount to 27,000 men from 21 to 60 years of age". For purposes of military discipline and instruction the colony was divided into four districts. He laments the lack of funds for building forts and the troubles with the Indians (Koontz's The Va. Frontier, p. 153).

Colonel William Byrd of Westover was one of the Crown's commissioners and in his account of the undertaking he says:

We commissioned and swore Mr. Gream on behalf of the King and Mr. Thomas on behlf of my Lord, to survey and measure the South Branch of Rappahannock from first fork to the head Spring, and return an exact map of the same, describing all the rivers and creeks that discharge their waters into it. And because Mr. Gream had not been practiced in Surveying we allowed him to make use of Mr. Hume as Assistant. We likewise ordered them to furnish themselves with 6 men & what provisions should be necessary for their subsistance While we stayed at Fredericksburg we lodged at Col. Henry Willis's but kept a magnificent table at the ordinary, & entertaining all the gents. who came to visit us, which were many. We then went to the Fork of the River and found the North Branch to be wider by 3 poles and 9 links, though it was objected to by my Lord's Commissioners that the South was made narrower by an island that ran along the south shore.

We carried a surloin of beef from Col. Carter's and picked it as clean as a pack of wolves would those of a wounded deer. The same gentleman furnished us with strong beer but forgot to bring a vessel to drink it from. However we supplied that want with the shell of a poor terrapin which we destroyed as Henry VIII did Cardenal Wolsey, for the sake of his house. We then proceeded to Germantown, where Governor Spotswood rec'd us very courteously, and lest we should have forgotten the battles of Marlborough, he fought them all over again, for the ninth and fortieth time."

(Vestover MSS.), Vol. II, p. 97; also Slaughter's St. Mark's parish, loc. cit.).

The celebrated Fairfax land case called forth several expeditions by the commissioners who seemed to have enjoyed themselves greatly, their reports indeed resembling Fontaine's Journal of the memorable journey made by the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe in 1716. In later surveys of this land, Lord Fairfax was represented by the youthful George Washington, who had learned surveying from George Hume. Hume was surveyor of Spotsylvania County at the time that Washington was appointed surveyor of the newly made county of Culpeper. There are in Frederick and other counties a number

of surveys made by them together and the records are signed "George Hume, Surveyor and George Washington, Assistant Surveyor."⁴²

There is a gap of more than twelve years in the series of letters written by George Hume, those intervening having been lost. The next that we have is to his elder brother David, baron of Wedderburn.

Dear Brother David:

I have wrote you so often without ever receiving an answer y' I am almost hopeless of writing to you any more. Whether it is you do not receive my letters or will not write or have any corespondence with me I can not tell. however I have this safe oppertunity by James Hunter I take it to let you know I am still alive and well and hope to hear from you when you receive this—how you are and how all ye rest of my Brothers y' you may happen to see, as also my Mother and Sisters.

You may be sure it will be a very great joy and satisfaction to hear how you are at so long absence. You can not but know where to find me. If you direct for me in Orange County to the care of Mr. William Hunter merchant, Fredericksburg, Rapⁿ River Virginia, I shall be sure to receive tham. I shall add no more at present till I hear from you w^{ch} I earnestly beg I may do with y^{ch} first opportunity & not only once but shall beg you will give yourself y^{ch} trouble of letting me hear from you often, and pray give my duty to my Mother.

With my love to my sisters and their husbands, not forgetting to remember me to my old fellow travelar and brother

published, do not cover this period of his life, as his notes on his work with George Hume would be most interesting in the present connection. His first diary begins in 1748 and deals with his surveys for Lord Fairfax, but the entries cover only one month. The next deals with his journey to Barbadoes and with his expedition to the French Commandant at the frontier. There are no more entries relating to Surveying until after George Hume's death. (Cf The Diaries of George Washington, ed. by Fitzpatrick, 4 vols. 1925). The following is the court record of Washington's appointment: "Culpeper County, 20 July 1749—George Washington, Gent. produced a commission from the President and Masters of William and Mary College appointing him to be Surveyor of this county, which was read, and thereupon he took the usual oaths to His Majesty's person and government, and took and subscribed the abjuration oath and test, and then took the oath of surveyor according to law" (Henry Howe's Hist. Coll. of Va., p. 237).

sufferer Alex Home of Manderstone,43 and should be heartily glad to hear from him.

G. home.

F^{br}. y^e 7th 1736

Here follows a letter from George's brother Patrick, Surgeon in the Royal Navy. The letter is probably one of the first sent to George in the New World. Patrick was a year younger, and was one of his most faithful correspondents.

London 18th Sep. 1736

Dear Br,

Not having heard anything of you so many years till John [another brother also an officer of the Royal Navy] came home last year, I intended then to have writ to you but going out again to Constantinople and not knowing when we might return, I deferred it. We were paid off about ten days agoe. As there is but little prospect of any business for some time in my way, intend to go to Scotland for the Winter not having seen my Moyr these twelve years as it is probable I may not go abroad all next year. Should be glad to hear from you. When at Cap. ffear about four years ago I writ to you and once afterwards from Carolina but never herd from you. May write safely directed to the Golden Boot in dukes Court, St. Martins Lane, London & it will find me where ever I am. Could write more largely, but will not till I hear from you. Am determined to write to you every 3 months for at least 3 or 4 times if I hear not from you, and am,

Your Affet Br, Pat Hume.

In 1739 George Hume was commissioned Deputy-Surveyor of Orange County which had been set off from Spotsylvania in 1734. We find the following entry in the Order Book:

At a Court held for Orange County, Thursday, 22nd November 1739. George Home having produced a Commission for Deputy-Surveyor of the County, took oaths prescribed

⁴³ The Homes of Manderston were descended from Alexander Home of Manderston one of the "Seven Spears of Wedderburn" of Flodden fame, and third son of Sir David Home of Wedderburn who was killed at that battle. This Alexander was the eldest son of George Home of Whitfield (see note 7, page 17).

by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of oaths of Allegience and Supremacy & the Abjuration Oath, subscribed the test, and then took ye oath of a Surveyor and was sworn Deputy-Surveyor accordingly. (Orange County Order Book for 1739, p. 84).

He later became Surveyor of that County, the following Bond being recorded:

BOND

Know all men by these presents:

That we George Hume, Thomas Chew and John Bramham are held and firmly bound into our Sovereign Lord King George-the-Second, his heirs and successors, in the sum of Five Hundred Pounds, Current money, to the which payment well and truly to be made our said Lord the King his heirs and successors, we bind ourselves, our heirs, Executors and Administrators, jointly and Severally, firmly by these presents.

Witness our hands and seals this XXX day of November

in the year MDCCLI.

The condition of this obligation is such that if the above bound George Hume shall well, truly and faithfully execute and perform the Office of Surveyor of the County of Orange during his continuance in the said office, then the above Obligation to be Void and of None effect; otherwise to remain in full power, force and Virtue.

G. hume (Seal)
Thos. Chew (Seal)
John Bramham (Seal)

At a Court held for Orange County on the 30th day of November 1751, this bond was acknowledged by the said Hume, Chew and Bramham and ordered to be recorded. Teste George Taylor, County Clerk. (Orange County Deed Book 11, p. 238, also Order Book 5, p. 348).

At least two of George Hume's field books are in existence. One is in the county records of Augusta County where it was filed as an exhibit in a land suit. It is described as "a small book, leather bound, home-made, measuring 3 by 5 inches. On the cover, which was evidently attached after its completion, is the following: 'To Cap. James Frayzer, Long Meadow'." (cf. Chalkley's Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish

Settlement in Va. II, p. 370). The other, now deposited in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, contains records of his surveys in Frederick County, many having been made of lands of Lord Fairfax, Jost Hite, Gabriel Jones, William Beverly and others. The book measures 3½ by 7½ inches, the cover being of coarse linen reinforced with leaves of an old copy-book. The fly-leaf is inscribed:

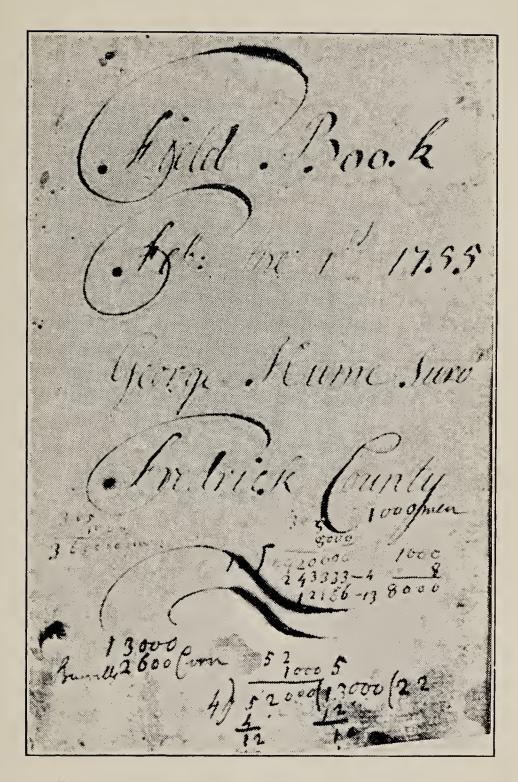
FIELD BOOK
Feb: the 1st 1755
GEORGE HUME SURV.
Frederick County.

(See photo).

While Surveyor of Spotsylvania County, George Hume made a survey of the town of Fredericksburg which is referred to later in another connection at a meeting of the House of Burgesses, as follows:

At a Meeting of the House of Burgesses on Thursday May 27 1742: "By an Act of the General Assembly made in the first year of his present Majesty's reign [George II succeeded in 1727], for erecting a town in each of the counties of Spotsylvania and King George * * * * * George Home, then surveyor of the said County of Spotsylvania, did survey and lay out Fifty Acres of Land for the said Town of Fredericksburg; and divided the same into Lots and Streets and returned a plan thereof to the trustees, who made sale of Lots according to said Plan. * * * That the said Trustees did on the 18th day of March 1739, cause the Bounds of the said Town to be resurveyed by William Waller, the present surveyor of the County. And by that survey it appears that the Bounds of the said Town, as the same was laid out by the said Home, contain Fifty Acres and one third of an Acre of Land. (Journals of House of Burgesses, 1742-1747, p. 39, also Hening's Statutes V, Chap. XXII (15 Geo. II), 1742, p. 197).

Despite his having to begin life in the colony without money or friends, George Hume was able to amass considerable land as shown in the many deeds made to him and by him. For example in June 1728 the Governor and Council granted him a fourth interest in a tract of ten thousand acres of land and a third interest in a tract of six thousand acres. The deed mentions him as a Justice of the Peace. On December 1,



TITLE PAGE, FIELD BOOK OF GEORGE HUME Surveyor of Frederick County, 1755.

(Original in Manuscripts Division Library of Congress)



1730, George Hume sold his share of these tracts to one of the other original grantees of the land. The deed begins:

THIS INDENTURE made the first day of December in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty, between George Home of St. George's Parish in Spotsylvania County, Gentleman, of the one part and William Russell of the said Parish and County, Gentl. of the other part.

Whereas Thomas Chew, William Johnson and the said George Home did in or about ye month of June in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty eight out of the Council office an order of the Governor and Council of this colony for to authorize and impower the said Chew, Johnson and Home to survey and take up six thousand acres of land at Jarranders and did also at or about the same time obtain and receive out of the said Council office one other order of the said Governor and Council to authorize and impower ye said Chew, Johnson and Home together with Larkin Chew, Joseph Smith and the said William Russell to survey and take up ten thousand acres of land at the said place of Jarranders, as of the said orders of council respectively granted to the said Thomas Chew, William Johnson and George Home and to the said Larkin Chew, Joseph Smith, Thomas Chew, William Russell, William Johnson and George Home for the said quantities of ten thousand acres and six thousand acres of land, relation being thereunto had may more fully appear | here follow the terms of the deed of the tracts].

In witness whereof the said George Home hath hereunto set his hand and seal the day, month and year first above written.

G. home [Seal]

(Deed Book B, p. 108, cf. Crozier's Spotsylvania County, p. 131).

On 13th September 1737 George Home and Elizabeth his wife, "of St. Marks Parish, in the County of Orange" sold to James Garton of St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County, a tract of land "situate in St. Mark's Parish on a branch of Mountain Run, called Hungry Run, in the Great Fork of the Rappahannock River" adjoining the land of Colonel Alexander Spotswood and Robert Spotswood, and "including the Mansion House where the said George home late dwelt". (Orange County Deed Book 2, p. 205). The deed is signed "G. home and Elizabeth Home", and bears intact George's seal upon which are displayed the arms of the Humes of Wedderburn.

George at various times bought large quantities of land and had three grants from Lord Fairfax, Proprietor of the Northern Neck of Land in Virginia. Two of these were in Orange County in 1746 (Northern Neck Grants, Book G, pp. 49 and 50, Va. Land Office) and one in Augusta County in 1756 (ibid Book H, p. 709). Deeds made by George are found in the counties of Spotsylvania, Orange, Culpeper and others.

He was Vestryman of Saint George's Parish, Spotsylvania County (1729) and later of Saint Mark's Parish, Orange County (1737) and is frequently mentioned in the minutes of the Vestry (Records at Episcopal Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.). By deed made 22 June 1737 George transferred to the Gentlemen Churchwardens of the Parish of Saint Mark in Orange County "that tract a parcel of land whereon the church of the great Fork of the Rappahannock River in the said Parish now stands" (Orange Co. Deed Book 2, p. 32).

George's four younger brothers had interesting service in various parts of the world as officers of the Royal Navy, and were frequently in Virginia and visited their exiled brother. It has been suggested that only their being in the Navy and therefore away from Scotland, and George's being in Virginia, prevented all the brothers following family tradition, donning the white cockade in 1745, and turning out for Bonnie Prince Charlie in the last Jacobite rising.

The following letter is from Patrick, Surgeon in the Royal Navy, and third son of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn:

Dear B^r

Rec^d yours of 17th May 1737 and likewise that of the 7th June which were directed to Mr. Hume in Dukes Court who sent them to me being then at Carolina a second time, from w^{ch} place I writ you several times but hav not herd from you since. We came to England again last winter, L^d [Lord] Delorain⁴⁴ who was my Capth dying soon after. Am at

⁴⁴ Henry Scott, third Earl of Delorain, a grandson of the ill fated Duke of Monmouth, born 1712, was Captain in the Royal Navy and commanded the Seaford, man-of-war in the Mediterranean. He succeed his brother as Earl in 1739 and returned home but died in his coach at Acton, before he reached London, 31 January 1740 (Paul's The Scots Peerage, III, p. 113).

prest in the Suffolk where I met with the oppertunity of this ship now in Tor bay there being about 25 sail of us lying ready for a wind to go down channel Commanded by Sir John Norris. We believe to look for the Spanish or French Fleet in the bay of Biscay. Jno. [Captain John Hume, fourth son of the forfeited Laird] is still in the West Indies the Roebuck being expected home every day. All in Scotland are in the same way as when I last writ. We do not expect to be long out & if a peace is made soon it is possible I may not go abroad again. Intending to pay our old Moyr as long a visit as I have been now absent, if it pleases God we both live so long. Intending to write you frequently & shall be still in some hopes of a further corespondence.

Your Affet Br,

Pat. Hume.

Ship Suffolk in Tor bay, 31st July 1740 Direct for me to be left at Mr. Samuel Barlows Apry in Bucklereburry, London.

George's next letter to Patrick is in answer to the last.

Broy Pat,

I have wrote to you several times since I herd from you last w^{ch} I think was from Tor Bay in July 1740 but no answer & having their some opportunity by James Hunter sone to James Hunter in Duns I take ye pleasure. I expect it will be a sure hand if he gets safe himself wherefore I think you will be sure to get ye letter & I hope you will let me hear from you and you may direct for me here of Orange County either to the care of Mr. Eliott Benger post master of Virginia at Newport Rappahannock River or to ye care of William Hunter merchant in Fredericksburg, Rappahannock, Virginia and I shall be sure to get them [part of letter is lost; the writer is probably referring to his son John, midshipman in his uncle James's ship] of being my Broy James on ye station with him who while in ye Country both he and Lord Banf and all the Gentlemen on board were very well pleased with his [illegible] & I hope he will still continue so who with his [uncle] your Brother Jno⁸ advice will not be wanting. I beg you will be as good as your word and let me have a constant corespondence with you which you may assure yourself will be a very great pleasure & satisfaction to your

Dr Brother, G.hume.

7^{br} [September] ye 11th 1746.

Patrick seems to have spent a good deal of time in Carolina and was one of the earliest members of the Saint Andrew's Society (Club) of the city of Charleston. His certificate of membership dated 21 May 1733 is in existence and sets forth that Mr. Patrick Home, Surgeon of H. M. Ship Squirrel is a member of the Saint Andrews Club, signed by A. Home, President and James Michie, Clerk. Upon the roster of the Saint Andrews Society of Charleston, oldest Scottish Society in America having been founded in 1729, we find also the name of Captain John Home, R. N., Patrick's brother, and likewise Sir James Home, Baronet (1740). (cf. Wedd. MSS. No. 636). It may be added in this connection that on Saint Andrew's day, 1780, William Hume, Lord Dunglass, eldest son of the ninth Earl of Hume, was admitted to the Society. This was during the occupation of Charleston by the British Army. Lord Dunglass was a lieutenant of the Coldstream Guards. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Guilford Court House on 15th March of the following year (Easterby's Hist. of the St. Andrew's Soc. of Charleston, p. 53; Paul's Scots Peerage, IV, p. 481).

Here are some of the letters written to George by his brother James, sixth son of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn, at this time a Lieutenant, Royal Navy, in H. M. S. Hastings.

Hastings, York River, June yº 24th 1743.

Dr Br,

I have ye pleasure to acquint you that we arrived hear on Tuesday last. I had some thoughts before our arrivel to have done myself the pleasure of waiting on you but am obliged to give over that thought at present for we have had a long passage & ye ship wants a good dale of overhauling amongst the rigging & it is impossible for me to be spared & Captⁿ Dandridge being Senior Captⁿ is in a great hurry to have us out again. We are to relieve ye Sh [South] Sea Castle & to be stationed here some time. If it suits with your convaniency I should be glad to have ye happiness of seeing you here. There's no news of particular worth mentioning till we have ye pleasure of meeting, any further than all friends are well,

Jno [his brother, Captain John Hume, R. N.] excepted but he is much better of going to Scotland.

I am Your Most Affet Broyr

Jas Hume

P. S. If you should write to me direct to Lieut of his Majst. Ship Hastings, York. We have brought a very good prize with us.

A week later James writes as follows; it shows where George lived at the time:

Hastings, York River, June 30th 1743.

Dr Br,

I wrote to you the 25th of this month at our arrival here but since I herd you had moved from where you lived before and meeting with this oppertunity I did not care to lett this slip in case the other should not come to hand. I directed it to you care of Mr. Eliot Benger at Fredrighburg. We shall go out on a cruize in about a fortnight or three weeks. If it suits with your convaniency should be glad to have ye happiness of seeing you before we sail, but we are to be stationed here some time. Our prize was condemned on Monday last, & I am,

Your Most Afft Broy'

Ja^s Hume

P. S. If you have any oppertunity of writing, direct to our Lieut^{nt} of his Magst Ship Hastings, to be left at the Swan, York. I have wrote one York of the same date by Mr. Waler, Williamsburgh.

About this time George placed his third son, John, as a midshipman, aboard the ship of his brother, Lieutenant James Hume. He was twelve years old at the time. He spent several years in the naval service in this capacity and is frequently mentioned in his father's and uncles' letters. After one voyage he visited his grandmother, Lady Wedderburn, in Scotland.

Hastings, Hampton Road, Decr y 16th 1743

Dr Broyr,

We are just getting under sail & I am going abd ye sloop but my messmate will not part with John wen I am very glad off for he is much better abd ye ship than he can be with me till we get into a warmer climent & as soon as we get there I shall have him with me again. Youll excuse haist. I shall have not time to say any more then my compts [complements] to my sister [Elizabeth, George's wife] and Miss Jeany Dunwoodie if you should see her & I am

Your Most Affet Broyr

Ja^{*} Hume.

P. S. Jno is very well and likes ye ship.

George was commissioned Surveyor of Frederick County by the Hon. William Gooch, Esq., His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Virginia, in 1743. In the record of the meeting of the first Court held in that county (which was formed from Orange County in 1738) on November 11 the following entry is found:

Be it remembered that on the Eleventh day of November, Anno Domini MDCCXLIII—A commission under the hand of the Honourable William Gooch Esq., his Mag^{ties} Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominions of Virginia and the Seal of this Colony, Directed to George Home dated the twenty-second day of October MDCCXLIII, to be surveyor of this county being produced and read in Court, the said George Home having taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the oaths of adjuration made, and subscribed the test, was sworn Surveyor of this County accordingly. (Frederick County Order Book No. 1, 1743-5, p. 2, cf. Cartmell's Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants, p. 19).

The following letters, written shortly after this time, when George's brother James is again in Virginia, give further news of George's son John.

Hastings, Hamptone Road April y 17th 1744.

Dr Broyr,

I have ye pleasure to aquent you we arra here from Antegua ye 13th inst in 15 days passage. I have some thoughts of being in Williamsburg soon but if I should not have an oppertunity I shall be glad to see you aba. Youll heare when you come to ye Court whether we are gone a cruize or not. I have nothing particular any farther than we had not the good fortune to

meet wth anything since our departure from this place. Jack is well and desires his duty to you all. I am

Your most Aff^t Broy^r

Ja^{*} Hume

P. S. I have heard nothing of the Bear Skin you sent Mr. Dixon, he being in ye country. I desire when you come down youll bring ye Ginsang and different sorts of Snake roots. If we should be gone out send them to Mr. Charles at York.

Hastings, Hampton Road June ye 24th 1744.

Dr Broyr,

I rec^d yours of ye 13th Instant. The ship is going up to Norfolk to heave done, but theres a sloop fitting out for a privatier to guard ye coast till ye ship come down again and she is to be manned out of our ships Company & I believe I shall command her but I intend to leave Jno [George's son] aba in order to go to school at Norfolk wen I think is much better than going to sea in a small vessel wth me. If you can have a good oppertunity you may send ye snake roots and Ginsang.45 If not bring it yourself, as you promised Lord Banff some, lett it be put up from mine & if you should come down & I may be gone to sea in ye sloop youll be sure to see Jno. at Norfolk & likewise the rest of ye gentlemen who will be glad to see you & leave what snake root & Ginsang you intend for me at Mrs. Bordlawds in Hampton as I shall be once a month or five weeks there. The gentlemen of the mess desire their Compts [compliments] to you. John desires his duty to you and Mother and love to his brothers.

I am Your most Aff^t

Broy^r Jas Hume

This sloop is to be fitted out at the expence of the colony but manned and victualed by the King.

Three months later we find this letter from James to George:

Banff Sloop, Hampton Road Sept ye 4th 1744.

Dr Br

The last cruize I was out I had ye misfortune to spring my mast wen occasioned my coming in for a new one and I am

⁴⁵ In Governor Dinwiddie's Report of 1755 to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Planations, the total value of produce is given as £339,000, of this amount £2,000 was the value of "Snake Root, Jenzans, etc." (Koontz's *The Virginia Frontier*, 1754-1763, p. 153).

now going on another cruize but shall be in again in about three weeks hence, at went time we expect ye ship will be down from Norfolk. Jack [George's son John] is at school at Norfolk and makes great progress in his arathmetick. We expect the London fleet here every day went one Capt Dugles in the Mairmaid, a ship of 40 guns to relieve us. If it suits with your conveniency I should be glad to see you about three or four weeks hence & I am

Your Most Aff Broy,

Ja⁸ Hume.

P. S. Be sure to bring ye snake roots and Ginsang for Lord Banff⁴⁶ and me.

The following letter to George's brother John, fourth son of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn, an officer of the Royal Navy, mentions George's residence in the colony. The paper is torn and the date lost but it is of about this period.

Dear Brother Jno,

I have wrote you several times since you left this nation. But you promised to let me hear from you often, I have never had ye happiness of one letter from you. The last time I wrote to you was in April 1745 & now having this good opportunity by James Hunter in Dunss [in Berwickshire], I send you this by him wth hope will go safe. If he gets safe home I am sure he will take care to deliver it according to ye directions which I hope you will get & pray let me beg to hear from you & whare I shall direct to you. You may assure yourself it would

⁴⁶ Alexander Ogilvy, sixth Lord Banff, was born in 1718. He entered the Royal Navy and attained the rank of Captain, 13 February 1741, when he was appointed to command the Hastings, man-of-war. During his short naval career he distinguished himself by the capture of several valuable prize ships including a rich outward-bound Spanish register ship Nostra Señora del Asunción, a Spanish privateer of 24 guns, which he sunk; a French poleacre the St. Jean, from Vera Cruz for Cadiz, with 130,000 pieces of eight; the Nostra Señora del Rosário, St. António y las Animas and two heavily armed Spanish privateers. He was appointed to command the Tilbury of 60 guns in August 1745, and was in command of her when his death occurred at Lisbon, 7 December 1746. (Paul's The Scots Peerage II, p. 22). He was descended from the first Lord Hume through Sir Patrick Hume of Fastcastle (ibid, p. 8), and quartered the arms of Hume with those of Ogilvy, using for this purpose the papingoes of Pepdie. A number of the letters from James Hume to his brother George in Virginia were written from the Hastings and the Tilbury while serving under Lord Banff. No doubt the prize ship mentioned in James Hume's letter is one of those listed above.

be a very great satisfaction and pleasure for me to hear from you often, how you are & in what place. Direct for me either by ye old directions as you had when was in the country or to the care of W^m Hunter, Merch^t in Fredericksburg, Rappahannock River, Virginia. The plantation I lived at when you war here was both too low⁴⁷ and too publick a place for my business wherefore I sold it & bought another where I live at now, about 18 miles higher in Orange Co. and in ye fork of Rappahannock River of which County I am still Surveyor, but very little business & to go to the mountains or over them I can not agree to y^t. I think not to go any higher. Though it is now but a poor country I must be content. Pray do not fail to let me hear from you.

G. hume.

An entry in the Order Book of Orange County at this time reflects the harsh laws and customs of the eighteenth century, laws which were similar in the colony and the mother country:

Friday, 24th May 1745.

Upon the complaint that Barbara Anderson, servant woman to George Home, has a Bastard child by William Stirdy, a servant man belonging to the said George Home, the sa Barbara being brought before the court, is ordered that she receive 25 lashes on her bare back well laid on at the publick whipping-post of the County and serve her said master twelve months after her previous servitude is expired, and it is said to the Sheriff that he cause immediate Execution of this order to be done.

By the Court: Absent Robert Green

President—George Taylor, Gentleman. (Order Bk. No. 4, for 1743-1746, p. 167).

Just what penalty was exacted of William Stirdy, history does not relate!

The following item in a court martial record of this period gives a bit of information about George and his work as Surveyor. The number of inhabitants in the two large counties was still very small.

⁴⁷ This is, too near the Tidewater, the older part of the Colony.

At a Court of field officers and Captains held for Augusta at the Intended Court house ye 11th day of September 1745 being the next day after the General Muster * * * *

Captain Wm. Russell exhibited to the Court an account from the Court of Frederick County whereby it appears that the said County of Frederick is Charged by George Hume, Surveyor for running the Dividing Line between sd. County of Frederick and Augusta in the sum of Sixty pounds eighteen shillings or 21416 pounds of tobacco which sum of money or tobacco is to be paid by Each of the sd. Countys in Proportion to the number of Tithables in Each County and by the aforesaid account it appears that the number of Tithables in Frederick amount to 1283 & those in Augusta 1196 * * * *

Teste [Colonel] James Patton, President. (Draper MSS. 1 QQ30, State Hist. Soc. of Wis.)

It will be remembered that Isabel, the second sister of George Hume, married Alexander Home of Jardinfield, son of Ninian Home of Billie. He had greatly displeased his father by marrying Isabel instead of the elder sister, Margaret (who later married Ninian himself). Their son, Ninian Home, later came to Virginia and visited his uncle George, in Culpeper County. Here are two letters, probably dispatched at the same time, to Isabel and her husband:

Dear Sister Isabell:

I had the favour of a letter from you by James Hunter dated ye 22nd of March 1747. I sent you an answer but have received none from you since. You can not but have oppertunities enough and should be glad to hear from you and how you are as also all enq^r friends. Am glad to hear you are so well settled at home & wen I hope will be your satisfaction & I imagine by this time our Broyr Jno is also settled at home and also glad to hear our Mother is so well who I am certain must be old & infirm by yt time. The County I live in was divided last assembly & ye part I live in is called Culpepper County ye other of Orange still. Wherefore direct for me living in ye fork of Rappahannock River, Culpepper County Virginia. I am very well and in good health however I find myself fail and not able to walk the mountains as I have done. I have had so much cold and indured so much hardships over our



- 1. Autograph of Francis Hume of Quixwood, who was transported to Virginia, 1716, as a Jacobite prisoner. (From the petition of the prisoners to the Governor of Virginia, 1716.)
- 2. Autograph of George Hume of Culpeper County, son of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn. (From a deed in Orange County Circuit Clerk's Office, 1745.)
- 3. Autograph of the Same George Hume. (From a deed in Orange County Circuit Clerk's Office, 1748.)
- 4. Seal of George Hume of Culpeper County, bearing the arms of the Humes of Wedderburn, viz., quarterly first and fourth; vert, a lion rampant argent, armed and langued gules, for Hume; second: argent three papingoes vert, beaked and membered gules, for Pepdie of Dunglass; third: argent, a cross engrailed azure, for Sinclair of Herdmanston and Polwarth. Crest: A unicorn's head and neck, couped argent, maned and horned or, collared with an open crown. Mottoes: (above the crest) Remember; (below the arms) True to the End. (From a deed in Orange County Circuit Clerk's Office, 1739.)

While always pronounced *Hume*, the name is often written *Home* (see footnote 3). Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet, who was forfeited as a Jacobite in 1716, spelled it *Hume*, as did also his brother, Francis Hume of Quixwood, Advocate, who was transported to Virginia, 1716. The name of George Hume of Culpeper County, son of the forfeited Sir George, is spelled *Hume* in the record of his birth, as are also the names of his brothers and sisters except the youngest. However in all of his letters and other papers until 1746, he signs himself "G.home"; thereafter as "G.hume". His brothers all retained the spelling *Hume*. The two spellings frequently occur in the same page of old documents.



mountains it will make old whether I will or not. Pray remember me to all friends as enquire after me. I am,

Your loving Br

G. hume

The letter sent at the same time to Isabel's husband, Alexander Home of Jardinefield, is

Sir:

I was favoured with a letter from your spouse by James Hunter dated in March 1747 and should take it as a very great favour if you would be so good as to let me hear from you, how all affairs are in our native country, in which there are great changes since I was there. In ye year 1721 I left the country since which time have had very little corespondence. I hope ye friendship as was between your brother James & I besides ye Relations, may also create a corispondence between us which I assure you will not only be a pleasure but a very great satisfaction to me at such a distance. I am heartily glad to hear that all are well with you, hoping it will continue. You may always have an oppertunity to send me from Jno Hunter in Duns & Broy James seeing often who lives within [illegible]. Pray remember my love to my sister your spouse, also to my sisters Peggy & Jenny and my young nephews and nieces though unknown with me. My service to all enqr friends who enquire after me especially Alex Home of Manderstone. I am, &c.,

G. hume.

To Alex Home of Jardinfield. Aug. 9th 1749.

In the following letter, Surgeon Patrick Hume mentions his aged mother and also George's son John, the Midshipman. By this time Patrick had retired from the Royal Navy, and we find him living at Wedderburn Castle where he had "taken a little farm of our brother", David Hume of Wedderburn, eldest son of the forfeited Laird.

Wedderburn, 22nd March 1747

 B^r :

Rec^d yours of May 1745 some time agoe and likewise of 8^{br} [Oct.] 1746 by Ja^s Hunter. I saw your son [John] at Portsmouth last winter wth James where I was Surgⁿ of

the Sandwich under Jnos command for about three weeks. I only took her with an intention to quit again as I thought myself not fit to go to sea since last west Indies voyage which was in 1741. Been for the most part in this country since I got superanuat. When I left the Sandwich and given over all thoughts of Business having still a lameness in my hands, I thank God otherwise in a very good health. As I often wished for a quiet country life when I was obliged to bustle about the world, I think I have now fallen into it but idleness I always abhorred. Have therefore turned planter and by taking a little farm of our brother where I plant, soe and build Dikes [stone fences] which affords me constant employment. What little I got together have laid out in two small farms in the neighborhood which pays my rent and the overplus is mostly laid out in improving my farm. Our Moy [mother] is in tolerable health for one in her years. Jno had been in the Sandwich for about a year and a half, a guard ship but soon to be paid off as he is so lame in his leggs wth the Gout & therefore not fitt for a cruizing ship. I believe he will come to Scotland unless he get anoth Guard Ship. Jas. went to the Meddittaranean some months agoe. All your friends here are well & am

Your Afft Br

Pat. Hume.

Direct for me at Wedderburn near Berwick upon Tweed, 6 miles from there, 1¼ miles from Duns.

To this letter George replied:

April ye 8th 1748,

Broy Pat:

Rec^a yours from Wedderburn dated 22nd March 1747. Am glad to hear all is so well, and especially our Moth^r who must now by old age be very infirm. I had a letter from James on board the Tilbury at sea dated ye 13th of August last. He does not tell me where he is but can not be very far off his letter had such quick passage. It was not wrote 2 months till I got it. He was then well. Your lameness in your hands continues to hinder you from your business but glad you are so well settled & so content. I have nothing to write to you. Our Govn^r [Sir William Gooch] gives no [illegible] by receiving wares & goods so very dear it is almost impossible to buy. I got such a cold at ye Pas[s] of our mountains that I expected it would have killed me. I have been these two years

past, I could never go out to work but I thanked God I hope I am new perfectly recovered and I think as well as ever and able now again to walk ye mountains. I hope you will not fail to let me hear from you often as you may on the oppertunity from Jas Hunter to send to their Broy Wm who lives in Fredericksburg town within 20 miles.

Your Aft Broth.

G. hume.

The following letter from James is in answer to one of George's of which we have not a copy:

Tillbury at Sea Agst yº 13th 1747.

Dr Br,

I was favoured wth yours by Jas Hunter at our arrival from the Meditaranon where we passed last winter & one about eighteen months agoe but we have been almost constantly at Sea ever since this ship has been commissioned that I never had the oppertunity of meeting wth a ship bound your way or otherwise I should have wrote often to you. When we came home in the Hastings we was paid off at Chatham. I took a trip to Scotland where I found every bodie well but had not been long there before Ld [Lord] Banff had the Command of this ship. I being appointed his first Lieutenant was obliged to leave it before I had seen all my Relations & Indeed much sooner than I intended if there had been a possibility of helping of it. As to your son Jack [John] I can scarce give you any acct of him nor do I well know what to do wth him. When I first came home I put him to school & since he has been wth me hear & had the advantage of a schoolmaster but takes to nothing neither his books nor of being a seaman that in all this 3 years he can not work a common case of plain sailing. Nor does he well know how many points theres in ye compass so that he never will be fitt for anything but to drive hoggs in the woods. As soon as we gett to England again from convoying the fleet we now have in charge, the Tilbury is to be fitted for the east Indies, but I shall not go out in her if theres a possibility of getting clear of her. However I shall write more particularly to you next oppertunity. I was in London about three weeks ago. James Hunter was there in town but

did not see him. I have had promises of being made a Captever since I came from Virginia but the parlament interest [influence] goes so far at present that them who wants [lack] it must go without being provided for till it be over, and in short the Scots Interest at this time goes but a very little way. Theres some other things I could mention more particular win regard to you, but dont care to do it at this distance or at least at this time, & I am

Your Most Afft

Broy^r Ja^s Hume

In the next letter George asks his brother whether his son John "likes London or Fredericksburg best", the boy still being a midshipman in his uncle's ship, albeit the last letter would indicate that he was not too successful.

Fbr ye 11th 1748.

Broy James:

I wrote to you ye 15th of Apr but never had any return from you since the letter you wrote me from Hampton road Jan' yº 19th 1745 after you were removed and having now this time & as I think oppertunity by James Hunter son to James Hunter in Duns, I take it to write you hoping you will receive it because I dare say if you are in London or in Scotland he will see you if possible. I have likewise wrote by him to Broyrs David, Patt and Jro whom I hope will all hear from. You may believe it would be one of comfort & satisfaction that possible could [MS. torn] with you all at such a distance & pray let me hear how my sone does and how he behaves & if he likes London or Fredericksburg best. I have had a very hard spell of sickness for several months by reason of a grevous cold I catched at our last winter but I thank God am now bravely recovered and intend to give over taking long tedious journeys of where we are obliged to go perhaps several months without seeing a house, and living altogether on wilde meat and to content myself with what little business I can get about home or at least in ye Inhabited places. I am still surveyor of Orange county. It is of little benefit now for ye Ld. [Lord] Fairfax has almost got all our back lands from ye King, y' we y' are Kings [i. e. in the King's service] has now but little business for his Lordships agents here [MS. torn] wth whome I have no acquaintance. I did not much expect being so much troublesome to you. Would lend me

the wach and saddle you promised but now I hope we shall have better times & if you can meet wth James Hunter you can not get a safer hand. I beg you will not fail to let me hear from you & as often as you can & may.

G. hume.

The following letter is to George's brother Captain John Hume, Royal Navy:

Dear Brother,

I understand by Willie Hunter you wrote by him last year to me but he not knowing who I was and ye letter being directed to me living on Rapⁿ [Rappahannock River] gave it to ye [illegible] who carried it around to [Norfolk (?)] yt after all ye enquiry I could not make out nor hear of it though should have been heartily glad to have herd from you. May you let me hear from you by ye first opportunity & pray let me know how all was at home, and if our old Mother is alive and how all affairs stand which would be of a very great satisfaction to me at such a distance. I have no news to write to you only I am hoping this will find you & all my Broyrs & sisters in ye same condition, very well. Still traveling about in ye back woods over our great mts & our country increases so fast I still find some business. Ye K[ing's] business were over very slack, most of ye lands as belong to ye Crown being surveyed, but have got into ye Ld [Lord] Fairfax business, being Proprietor of ye N[orthern] Neck of Virga and being now in ye country himself which I hope will hold by. You will let me hear from you by ye first opportunity & send your letters for me to Mr. Jno Hunter in Dunss—directed to ye care of Mr. W^m & James Hunters Merchants in Fredericksburg Rap^a [Rappahannock] River Virg^a & I shall be sure of them. I shall add no more at present only hoping you will let me hear from you soon as possible and remember my duty to my Mother if alive.

Wth my love to all my broy^{rs} & sisters, I remain
Your loving
Br

G.h.

Febr ye 15th 1751.

To Captⁿ John Hume at Wedderburn near Berwick on Tweed.

Another letter from Dr. Patrick Hume to his brother in Virginia is:

Wedderburn 28th Mar. 1751.

D' Br,

I writ to you in June last year by Ja^s Hunters B^r [William] which I hope you rec^d. Since that we are much as we were hear. The Capt [their brother John] is very infirm of the Gout in both hands and feet. The Laird [their brother David Hume of Wedderburn] & I have both had it this winter. This comes by a son of [Alexander Home of] Jardinfields who was Mr. Ninians [Home of Billie] eldest son by his first wife and marryd our Sister Isabell. As to anything else he can give you an acc^t of us hear & am

Your Affet Br

Pat Hume

The following letter is to George from his sister Isabel (mentioned in the last letter), wife of Alexander Home of Jardinfield, son of the Rev. Ninian Home of Billie by his first marriage. We find here further reference to Alexander's having been disinherited on account of his (and his wife's) opposition to the marriage of Ninian to Isabel's sister Margaret.

Edram, April 7th 1751.

Dear Brother:

I a long time agoe recd yours and can make no furdder excuse that I was for four years rooming in Edinbrough for the Eaddication of my young family and mindit nothing else. I do asshore you a coraspondence would be most acceptable to me so often as I could have it. Youll see I have so far taken your last advice. That a God Allmighty was pleased to deprive me of the one brother [James Home, her husband's elder brother] I had the other at my devotions who I do asshore you proves a cind and loving husband. He has procured a small fortune as much as makes a very comfortabell liffe though Mr. Home of Billie left his son of the second marriage 1000 pound Stirling for portion & all his younger chldrin good porshun, but he was never reconciled to his son my husband who is the only wan alive of the first marriage. Upon acct. of myself against Sister Peggy's marriage and his. It were useless to tell you the situation of a far when the bearer hereof Nineon Home, my eldest son, can inform you ever particular. It is useless to write you the situation of his business. him & then I hop you will act the part of a parant in a strange country to give him your countenance and best advice. Youll find him but a young boye, a stranger to the world and willing to take the advice of the best of his friends. I will expect to hear from you by return of the ship though he propose not to retorn so soon, providing he ceapts his health in the climet. I beg you will advise him & yeous him as your own & also if you would let me know if I can serve or be of any yeous to you in this plaice. The ceam ship we expect will return to Virgeny next year at this time. You have also letter from your brother which will give you account of thar affairs if not Ninian can. Sister Jean's husband does everything that may be disagereabell to her family and my Mr. Home did every thing that might be agreeable to mine which was the only thing brought us into reconcilement. All other things I refer you to the bearer who I hope shall find before him.

With my cincer good wishes to you & all your family from

Your Most Aff^t Sister.

Isabell Home.

On the same day Isabel's husband wrote George the following letter, which of course reached him at the same time:

Edrom 7 Apr¹¹ 1751.

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure of yours long agoe, was disappointed by John Hunter who neglected to acquaint us when he wrote his Br. You have this by my son Ninian who is come to Virginia for a season to keep his masters store to whom I refer you for ane account of all friends here. Am confident of your regard for your sister and family & shall make it my constant studdy to cultivat a friendship with my relations and especially with him who was so agreable to my Brother [James]. Have got at last a small competency which with frugality and Industry will enable me to Educat and put my childreng to Imployments, the expense of a family &c being double [what it was] when you was here. It is needless for me to defer you to give Ninian your Countenance and advice being confident you will use him as your own child. He is recommended to one Mr. Maitland a merch^t in York river. Have nothing further to ad but that I am

Your Afft Broyr

A. Home

P. S. Your friend [Alexander Home of] Manderston is married to your old acquaintance Gavin Drummond's daughter. Her father is dead some years agoe. Adiew.

The following letter to Isabel was written some five months later but before the above letters had reached George.

Dear Sister:

I have never received but one letter from you & y' was by James Hunter dated March 25th 1747 since web time I wrote both you and your husband about August 1749 and once since, but no answer though you may believe it would be a very great pleasure besides satisfaction for me to hear from you also ye rest of my brothers and sisters, though I sometimes hear from some of my Broyrs but seldom. Am surprised you according to your promise do not write to me oftener. You can never want an opportunity by Jno. Hunter in Duns when he writes to his uncle Wm & Broyr Jas wen is often. I would have them direct for me living in Culpepper Co. Rapⁿ R., Virga, to ye care of Wm or Jas Hunter, Merchants in Fredg. [Fredericksburg] Rapⁿ River Virgⁿ and I shall be sure to get them for they are all my [MS. torn]. I have herd of a great many deaths in our family both from my Broyrs Jno and James, and some word from you who is always on ye spot would not be amiss & give me very great satisfaction & as perhaps one sheet of paper would not hold it all, might give me some in one & some in another for you may every now & then have oppertunitys by Jno Hunter in Duns. I should rely your husband would not spare writing to me. To give you an act, of all ye transactions of my life and hardships I have endured since I left Scotland is not a quire of paper would hold it, but I must tell you we are all well, hoping this will find you and your family in the same condition. I have business & our country America is so fast settling y't we have now got to the branches of Misosipy web is 3 or 4 hundred miles from where I have been living, but too far for me, growing now old, to go, but though ye land is as ye King holds in ye country is almost all surveyed and my business it may fail. I have got in ye Ld. [Lord] Proprietor of ye North N [Neck] in Virga [i. e. Lord Fairfax]. I do not go above 100 miles from home to work & as my eyes within ye 2 or 3 yrs has failed me very much. I thank God I have now got a son [George] who does my business for me and when he leaves me I hope to have another [Francis] ready. I have six There can be no greater satisfaction to me in ye world y" to hear from you all & especially to hear that Ninians deth has rid my dear sister out of all her troubles. I shall say no more at present, only I remain,

Your Loving B'r, G. h.

7^{br} [Sept.] ye 15th 1751 To Mrs. Isabell Home, Lady Jardinfield.

The following lines added to the above letter are obviously for Isabel's husband, Alexander Home of Jardinfield. Mention has already been made of the boyhood friendship of George and James Home (who died in 1724), brother of Alexander Home of Jardinfield.

I had the happiness of receiving a letter from your spouse my sister from James Hunter dated the year 1747 Since web time I have wrote both to you and her but hav never received any answer. I should take it as a particular favour besides the great pleasure & satisfaction I should have to heare from you every year or at least as often as you can conveniently being at such a distance—to hear how all friends are & how affairs goes at home especially with all my Brothers & sisters. When your brother James died [1724] I may say I lost my good friend and best corespondint however I hope you will be the same and you may always send to me by way of Mr. J¹⁰ Hunter at Duns directing to me in Culpepper Co. Rap¹¹ [Rappahannock] River Virga to ye care or Mr. William or James Hunter merchants in Freder's [Fredericksburg] Rap River Va. You have a cousin Alex Home son to James Home your Uncle who was Dixon of the Taylors in Edinbrough who lives about 3 miles of my house who desires me to remember him to you & would be glad to hear how you all did especially what has become of his sister if alive or dead and in what condition all are, hoping this will find you & your spouse in the same condition. I wrote you last in Aug 1749 but never had any ans. I likewise write now to your spouse hoping to hear from you both as soon as possible. I may remember my love to your sister [Margaret Home], your spouse, and my sisters Peggy & Jenny [Margaret and Jean] not forgetting my service to Alex Home of Manderstone. I shall add no more at present—only beg you will let me hear from you soon as you can conveniently which will be a very great pleasure to me.

G. h

7^{br} [Sept.] ye 15th 1751 To Mr. Alex^r Home of Jardinfield. As stated in the above letter, George's eldest son, also named George became his father's assistant as Surveyor and many of the county documents bear his signature in this capacity. The second son was Francis, who became a planter and did not follow surveying as his father had thought likely. By deed dated 24 October 1753 George transferred "in consideration of the sum of 25/- current money of Virginia" to this son Francis a part of the tract of land formerly granted to Goodrich Lightfoot (Culpeper County Deed Book B, p. 242).

George's remark that he had great satisfaction to hear that Ninian's death had rid his dear sister of all her troubles, is easily appreciated since he can hardly have been expected to feel any love for this man, albeit his brother-in-law, who had been instrumental in striking his name from the entail of the Wedderburn estates. Ninian Home's death is thus noted in a book of his family record, the earlier entries in which are in his own handwriting: "Mr. Ninian Home died at his house in the Convent Close, Edinbr. 17 December 1744, Aged 74 years and 17 days." (MS. records supplied by Mr. Wm. Maddan).

The next letter from Isabel Home, Lady Jardinfield, to her brother George follows. It shows that her son Ninian had not reached his uncle George as soon as his parents had expected:

Edram, June 16th 1752.

Dear Brother:

I can make no apollege for so seldom a corrospondence but that we lay out of the way of knowing when ships went off and sometimes could not find a direcktion. I recd a letter from you some months agoe but as my son went for your country some months before and was strongly recommended to inquear for you on his first arrival, he having letters from us & his uncles recommending him to your care and advice and at receipt of yours as you had not seen him I thought it nedlice to write till I hurd from him, which I have frikquantly done but he never has spoak wan word of you nor of any bodie else that his uncle the Cap^t [Captain John Hume, R. N.]

about you. The last we had he told us he never had received gave him letters to. His pappa has wrote him to let us know a letter from this countray so we must suspend out thoughts a little longer in hopes by this time you have mett, & him I lifft to give you a full account of the situation of friends and acquaintances. When you receive this I will expect to hear from you by the first opertunity and would also be sattisfied to hear more frequeantly and also where or in what it lay in my power to serve you in this place. I should be redy & glad of an opertunity. My mother ceapts her health verie well and looks as well as I ever remember her. Lives verie comforttably with her three sons. The doctor [her brother Patrick] is very conveniant, I may say fallen off verie fast. The Lard [her brother David seems to have no inclination for marrag tho mad a little handsome fortune. I do not dout but you have had the account from some of your brothers of the misfortune of your sister Lady Billy [Margaret]. Sath her eldest son is still abroad att his travells who simingly makes a good appearance. She has three sons [Patrick, David and Thomas] and three daughters [Isabel, Jean and Elizabeth] more verie well left by their father. As for your sister Jean [wife of Rev. John Tod] I think her verie unhappie. It is just as they think themselves, he is a good Pricher but a mighty mad wan. I go to see her sometimes but he never allows her to come & see me. When I made my first step Mr. Home [i. e. the writer's husband did everything that he thought would be agrieabell to my relations and Tod does everything that he thinks disagreeabell. She has five fine children. I would give you a fouller account but as I can not think my son Ninian will live in the country without enquearing for you he can inform you better than I can writ. I did not doubt but the assistance of your advice might ben of yeous to him in his way. Direct for me Mrs. Home of Jardinfield att Porankston near Dunnebare [Dunbar] which is a small purchase Mr. Home has mead in East Loddon [Lothian], about 5 pounds per year for convenience of Dwelling house. He inclining not to build and Jardinfield would not lodg his family. Its about 10 miles from Dunse so will expect to hear more purtickulaer from you. I have Ninians letter sometime in Cornswick. My family heare is all well. You see not the best of them when you see my Ninian tho he is my favorit for his thorou good temper. My complaments to you and your family & I ever am,

Your Most Aff^t Sister

Isabell Home

(The letter is indorsed in George's handwriting: Rec⁴ this letter Feb y⁶ 23⁴ 1753. G. h.)

The marriage of Jean Hume, youngest daughter of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn, was unhappy as shown in numerous family letters. She married the Reverend John Tod, Minister of Ladykirk⁴⁸ and had three sons and three daughters none of whom married except the eldest daughter, Margaret who married John Foreman. Their descendants are today the possessors of Wedderburn (see below).

At this chronological point in the notes on the life in Virginia of George Hume, second son of the forfeited baronet of Wedderburn, let us read two letters written by his first cousin, Alexander, eldest son of Francis Hume of Quixwood, the forfeited baronet's brother who was transported to Virginia in 1716 as we have seen. This Alexander Home also went to live in the colonies and these letters are from him to Alexander Home of Jardinfield, eldest son of the Rev. Ninian Home of Billie.

Kingston Jamaica Febr. yº 16 1752

Sir,

I have had no opportunity to write to you since I wrote from Barbadoes July 1750 till now that I had the good fortune to meet with Mr. Home [of Whitehouse] who hath signified to me the good and bad newes of your son's recovery from a dangerous fitt of sickness and your mother's death This step-mother's murder which occurred on August 2, 1751, see below], the former giving me great satisfaction and the latter as great greef and concern. As to my own affairs they have hung upon an equal balance since I lef London till now without inclining to one side or other. I have ranged the West Indies from Barbadoes to Jamaica and can find no place of abode so suitable to my circumstance as South Carolina to which I desine to return nex spring God willing. I had a terrible misfourtune last May, almost lost my left leg with an anchor out of a boat but it is now well thank God. I should be glad to hear from yo but the inconstancy of my business depriveth my of that satisfaction till it pleases God to settle me

⁴⁸ Ladykirk, across the Tweed from Norham, England, is an ancient Scottish church dedicated, tradition says, by James IV in gratitude for his narrow escape from death here when fording the swollen Tweed (Lang's Highways & Byways in the Border, p. 48).

in some place or other which I hope will be ere long and I shall let you know. Remember to all my friends beginning at home and all acquaintances. This is all at present from your ever loving and affectionate cussine till death.

Alexander Home

To Alexander Home of Jardinfield Esquier near Duns in the county of Berwick North Britain.

The second letter was written a few weeks later.

Sir.

This is to lett you know that I am in god health and should be very glad to hear from you if possible of your welfaire and your family's, but am not as yet not determined where to settle. My fortune is a little better than usual within this short time, thank God, though not as I expected. I should have come home this summer but was hindered by a hurt in my left leg in throwing an anchor out of a canoe in Guardalupa after which I had a severe fit of sickness which had well nigh lost me my life about 13 months agoe. I saw Mr. Home of Whitehouse last Feberwary and wrote by him but he is not sailed yet therefore I laid hold on this oportunity. I should be glad to hear what success you have had in my affairs so no more from your ever loving cusin till death.

Alexander Home

Jamaica, Port Rail [Royal] May the 4 1752.

Dreck [Direct] for Mr. George Dorset pilot in Port Rial and give it to Dugall Mathewson in Lieth who will sended by Joh. Kassie that brought this.

Remember me to my cusin [Isabel, wife of Jardinfield] and to aunt Wedderburn [Margaret Hume, widow of the forfeited baronet] and all relations with you and att Wedderburn and my brother [John].

For Alex Home of Jardinfield esquier in the county of Berwick near Duns North Britain

Theese p^d postage at Dunse by Jn^o Davidson.

(Pp. 210, 211 of Mins. of Evid., Marchmont Peerage Case, 1838, No. 113.2, House of Lords).

Alexander, the writer of the above letters, in his youth embraced a seafaring life, which he never relinquished. He was in Scotland occasionally for a short period, the last time having been in 1748 when he was upward of forty years of age and unmarried. After a visit of some months he returned to the West Indies. The "affairs" of which he enquires in the last letter, were the settlement of the lands of Quixwood which he had inherited from his father, Francis Hume of Quixwood (Marchmont Peerage Case, 1822, p. 16). Apparently Jardinfield, like his father the Rev. Ninian Home of Billie, lent money to his wife's relations. On 9th March 1749 Alexander, son of Francis of Quixwood, had made a bond to Jardinfield (copy in the Register Office in Scotland) which reads:

I Alexander Home eldest lawfull son of the deceast Mr. Francis Home advocate, grant me by thir presents to have borrowed and received from Alexander Home of Jardinfield all and haill the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds sterling which sum with and under the conditions and declarations after insert, I bind and oblige me and my heirs and successors to content and pay to the said Alexander Home of Jardinfield his heirs and assignees secluding exers and that within three days after the date hereof with a fifth part more of liquidate expences in case of failzie [failure] and the legall interest of the said capitall sum from the date of these presents to the said date of payment and thereafter during the not-payment thereof it being hereby specially provided and declared that thir presents and any dilligence to follow hereupon shall noways affect me or my person nor any estate reall or personall pertaining or which shall hereafter happen to pertain & belong to me other than the lands and estate of Quixwood with the teinds houses biggings yeards and pertinents lying within the shire of Berwick which pertained to the deceast Mr. Francis Home advocate my father, thir presents being granted for affecting that estate by adjudication and no other. And I consent to the registration hereof in books of council and session or any other judges books competent to have a decreet intirponed hereto that all execution necessary may pass thereon in form as effeirs and thereto constitute

my prors. In witnes whereof these presents consisting of this and the preceeding page are written upon stamped paper by Gilbert Mair clerk to William Elliot

writer in Edinburgh and subscribed by me att Edinburgh the ninth day of March one thousand seven hundred and fourty-nine years, before these witnesses the said William Elliot and the said Gilbert Mair.

(signed) Alexander Home

William Eliot, witnes Gilb. Mair, witnes

(p. 198 of Marchmont Peerage Case, 1838, No. 113.2, House of Lords).

On 2nd May 1749 a summons of adjudication was issued at the instance of Alexander Home of Jardinfield against Alexander Home, eldest son of the deceased Francis Home, advocate (copy in records of the Court of Session in Scotland), and he failing to appear as required in the terms of such summons, a decree of adjudication against him was granted on 13th June 1749. By its terms the sum due Jardinfield, now amounting to £3031 5sh sterling, not having been paid, the lands of Quixwood passed under provision of the Act of Parliament of 1661 to Jardinefield (Marchmont Peerage Case, 1838, loc. cit.).

Alexander, eldest son of Francis Hume of Quixwood, seems to have spent the remainder of his life in the West Indies and it is not known just when or where he died, nor is there evidence to show that he was ever married. In the years 1818 and 1819 "Advertisements were inserted in the gazettes of London, Edinburgh, Jamaica and Charlestown, advertising for the heirs of Alexander Home" (Marchmont Peerage Case, 1838, p. 133, No. 113.1, House of Lords). Copies of such advertisements were produced as evidence to show that this Alexander had left no heirs. The newspapers produced were: the London Gazette, the Edinburgh Gazette, the City Gazette of Jamaica, and the Charlestown Gazette. John, second son of Francis Hume of Quixwood was an exciseman and lived almost the whole of his life near Coldringham in Berwickshire. In 1776 he was served and retoured heir male to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, K. G. (p. 16, Marchmont Peerage Case, 1822). He died in 1791 and in

1806 his son Alexander, Captain, Royal Navy, made his first claim for the peerage of Marchmont (see below).

We return to the letters to and from George Hume of Culpeper County, Virginia.

The next letter from Alexander Home of Jardinfield gives the melancholy news of the murder of George's sister Margaret, widow of the Rev. Ninian Home of Billie. murder is one of the celebrated crimes of Scotland and finds place in all works on the subject. In his Scottish Rivers Sir Thomas Dick Lauder writes of Billie Castle as the scene of a grisly tale connected with the Humes. He tells how, to the best of his reckoning about a century prior to the date at which he wrote, an old lady of that family resided here in a somewhat friendless condition but with a considerable household of servants, chief of whom was a butler who had been in her service for many years, and in whose integrity she had entire confidence. This old lady, it seems, was in the habit of personally collecting rents from her tenants, and as there were then no country banks in which to deposit the money, it was her custom to count it in the presence of the butler, prior to locking the guineas away in a strong cupboard in her bedroom. The door of this room was secured by an ingenious arrangement, whereby a heavy brass bolt, or cylinder, was allowed to fall by its own weight into an opening made exactly to fit it. To an eye in the head of the cylinder was attached a cord which worked through a pulley fastened to the ceiling, and thence by a series of running blocks passed to the bedside. Thus the old lady, without troubling to get out of bed could bolt or unbolt her door at will, and so long as the cylinder was down, no one could possibly enter the room. Now, the butler had for years witnessed this counting and stowing away of the rent monies, and temptation had never yet assailed him. He might, indeed, plume himself on his honesty, but, alas, there came a night when the guineas clinked too seductively, and the devil whispered in the butler's ear. Perhaps some small financial embarrassment of his own was troubling the man. Anyhow it came to his mind that if he could quietly fill up the hole into which the bolt in his mistress' bedroom door dropped, he might help himself to as much money as he needed. The time of year was the cherry season. What so easy as to fill up the hole with cherry stones? The "geans" grew thick in Scotland, and they were black ripe now. "At midnight," says Sir Thomas, "he stole into his mistress' chamber, cut her throat from ear to ear, broke open her cabinet, and possessed himself of her money; and although he might have walked down the stairs and out at the door withcut exciting either alarm or suspicion, he opened the window and let himself down nearly two stories high, broke his leg, and lay thus among the shrubbery till morning, without ever attempting to crawl away. He was siezed, tried, condemned and executed."

"This is grisly enough," say Andrew and John Lang in Highways and Byways of the Border (p. 18), "but hardly so grisly as the real story of what happened. The scene of the murder, however, was not Billy Castle—which, indeed had then been dismantled and in ruins for two hundred years—but Linthill House, a fine old mansion standing on a 'brae' overhanging Eyewater, five or six miles from Billy. Linthill is now [1914] inhabited by families of work-people, but is still in good preservation, and at date of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's story [1752] must have been a very fine specimen of old Scottish château. The old lady's room was entered as Sir Thomas describes, but the butler [Norman Ross] did not immediately cut her throat. She was awakened by the stealthy sound of the rifling of the cupboard, or strong iron-bound box, in which her valuables were kept, and with that pluck which is characteristic of the old-time Scottish lady, she jumped up to grapple with the robber. Then he cut her throat and leaving her for dead in the bed, proceeded with his rifling. A slight noise, however, disturbed him, and, looking round, a terrifying sight met his gaze; the woman whom he believed to be dead was on her feet blindly groping her bloody way along the wall to the bell. Before he could sieze her and complete his work, she had pulled the rope with all the strength left to her, and had alarmed the other servants. Thus the murderer had no opportunity to leave by way of the stairs. jumped from the window—no great fear for an active man with his wits about him. But the butler was flurried; perhaps, also, he was stout, as is not uncommon with pampered servants. In any case, he missed his footing, came down badly, and broke his leg. He did not, however, lie where he fell, inert and helpless. With painful effort the man dragged himself into a field nearby, where, among sweet scented flowering beans, he lay concealed for some days. On the fourth day, as he lay groaning beside a tiny spring of water which still flows near the middle of the field, he chanced to be seen by some children, who gave information. The wretched man was taken, tried and executed, the last instance in Scotland of a criminal being hung in chains. The blood of a murdered person, they say, refuses to be washed clean from any woodwork into which it may have soaked—witness the ghastly dark patch that disfigures the floor in Holyrood. Here at Linthill at least there is no doubt of the fact that those marks remain; in spite of very visable attempts to remove the stains from the wood-work by planing them out, the prints of the poor lady's bloody hands still cling to the oak wainscoting of the gloomy old room where the deed was committed." Knapp and Baldwin's The Newgate Calender (II, pp. 108-113) and Wilkinson's The Newgate Calender Improved (II, pp. 239-243) give an account of the murderer's trial and barbarous execution, also mentioned in the following letter:

Edram 24th ffebr. 1752.

Sir:

I have the pleasure of yours of ye 15th Sept. last. I wrote you in my last by son Ninian who is at Hastings in York River, as did the Captn. [Captain John Hume R. N., George's brother] Doctor [Surgeon Patrick Hume, R. N., another brother] and my wife [George's sister], but he has neither acknowledged his delivering the letters nor of his seeing you tho he had strict charges to do it. It is a great pleasure to hear from my friends; shall embrace every opportunity of writing and hearing from them. Friends here are all well.

Make my complements to my cosin⁴⁹ and tell him his sister was married four years agoe to a Mr. Taylor who died about 3 years agoe and left her two daughters one of which is in the grades Hospital, the other is with her. She is verie industrious. Was supported by my Father who at his death ordered her fiftie pound stirling & recommended her to his wife and son. Since Lady Billys death both has ordered to give her some small thing from time to time as she needs it. I suppose you have herd of the manner of Lady Billys death. It was thus. She had rec^d some cash before the 2nd of Aug^t last—70 Pound Str. Her ffast man on that night concealed himself in her bedchamber when she had gone to take a walk as she usually did before bedtime when at Lenthill. When she had fallen a sleep he attacked her & cut her throat with a case kniffe. Upon receiving the scafe—at once started up & got hold of his hair and struggled considerably—our lady did alarm the servants—upon their coming up he made his escape at the window—was taken next day and upon the 5th March, was executed at Edin-the 10th of Ian last having his right hand first cut off and nailed to the top of the gallows—then hanged—& hung in chains betwist Leith & Edin^r. When you write again please direct for me at Branxton to the care of the Post Master of Dunbar, East Lothian. I am

Your Most ob' Humble Ser',

A. Home

My wife joins with me in our complements to you & all friends. I wrote likewise to J. Hunter by son but does not know if he rec^a it. Adieu.

To this letter George refers in the following:

I recd yours dated from Edrom your 24th Febr 175[2] & wrote to you some time after as also my sister [Isabel] by a young man you was going home but I hear since he has come back from Carolina won our souldiers so I am afraid he has never been home or sent you letters. I showed your cousin Sander [Alexander] what you had wrote me about his Sister won was very great satisfaction to him. He & his family are well & lives within a few miles of me so I have yo happiness of seeing him very often. We are all well here. I have no news only we have got warrs amongst us won you French. Our country in-

⁴⁹ See George's letter of Sept. 15, 1751, to Alexander Home of Jardinfield, page 99.

creases so much and so fast by reason of so many dutch [Germans] and Irish [Scotch-Irish]^{49a} coming in every year y^t since I came in ye year 1721 we have gone back to ye westward several hundred miles & now have got on ye branches of Misosippy River where I understand ye French art settled & I Imagine they do not like our coming so night them, tho I do not hear of any damage they do our back settlers only build forts to stop us. We suppose & think it belongs to us & they to them & seems to be very intent. Early last Spring a Company [Ohio River Company] as has got a grant for a great deal of Land on Ohio, a branch of Misosippy, built a fort on ye L Ohio, a distance from ye French weh as I understand when finished ye French took possession of without blood shed. Then there was a great noise about ye French were coming upon us. Several young men Listed themselves, beat up for volunteers & likewise got about or near 400 in Virga who went out. Ye French at ye same time raised an army also & some time after, about ye end of May last, a party of our souldiers met wth a party of ye French. I am informed by ye French Prisoners what I saw, there was about 35 of ym & 32 of our men besides some of our Indians. They had a skirmish. I understand our men killed 7 of ye French, one got away & ye

⁴⁹a "The coming of the German settlers and of the 'Scotch-Irish' to the country between the mountains (the Shenandoah Valley) was neraly contemporaneous. The Germans, known locally as the 'Valley Dutch', were in reality Bavarians, Westphalians, Alsatians, and Swiss. Their dialect, in which many of their early books, particularly Bibles, were printed, is still spoken in some localities. They were a sturdy, industrious and thrifty race and gave their attention to the cultivation of the soil. Their leader was Jost Hite, an Alsatian who, seeking religious freedom denied him in Europe, went first to New York, thence to Pennsylvania, and finally to Virginia, whither he removed his family in 1732, and established his residence a few miles south of Winchester. The 'Scotch-Irish' settlers, so-called in America, were the descendants of the Scots who had occupied the Province of Ulster to which they had emigrated from Scotland through a period beginning with the Cromwellian invasion of Ireland and especially after the Covenanting wars. Their exodus to America began after the siege of Londonderry. They went first to Pennsylvania where, on account of their Presbyterianism, they were unwelcome, but found in Virginia a freedom which had been denied them in the Province of William Penn. They laid no claim to aristocratic ancestry beyond the Atlantic, yet from this vigorous and unassuming population sprung some of the most noted men of the nation. The Valley Germans, some of whom were of noble birth, likewise furnished the country some of its leaders. Many of the pioneers of Kentucky and other remote parts of Virginia were of this stock". (Gordon's In the Picturesque Shenandoah Valley, pp. 4, 100, etc.).

rest taken to Capitoll city Williamsburg & we only lost one Our men built a fort on ye same river Ohio as ye French at some distance from theirs wherein our men lay & I imagine intended to ly for more recruits being far Inferior in numbers to ye French. We had I believe 200 from New York, 2 or 300 from Carolina who were to go under the Command of Col. Eness a Scotsman from Carolina & to be ye Chief Commander but before they got out to join our army ye French sett on ours and has quite beat ym with a very great slaughter on both sides. Our men behaved nobilly but being so far inferior in numbers to ye French they being supposed to be 900 and ours but between 3 & 400, were obliged to yield, Quit ye field, not go over ye Alligani mountains wen they say is ye King of Frances land in yt time. What will be ye end I can not tell though our head officers are gone to ye Govinour to consult him & I suppose will tell but what is to be done or if it is to keep ye peace or go on again with more recruits is not yet known but will in a few days. I hope we shall know. I understand it is a very large fine country if we can keep it weh I am in hopes we are able to do. We are settled so far back & business lies at such a distance I begin to grow very crazy [infirm] being very much exposed by lying out so much in ye nights & Induring so much hardships both by hunger & cold in ye backwoods yt I am obliged to give out & take up with a small business about home not being able to endure ye hardships of ye backwoods any longer, besides my eyes begin to fail me yt I cannot well see ye degrees of my compass without spectacles, unless I will move 2 or 300 miles further back wen I can as yet have no thought. I am

Your obt Servt

G.hume.

The following letter to George from his sister Lady Jardinfield (Isabel) gives further account of the murder of their sister. The miniature, at Paxton House, of Lady Billie reveals the strong face of a woman one might expect to have grappled with her murderer as she did. The will of the unfortunate lady was made less than a year before her death, and is dated 13th August 1751 at Linthill. She appointed Abraham, her "second lawful son now on life", her sole executor, bequeathing to him all goods of whatever kind belonging to her at the time of her death (Wedd. MSS. No. 276).

She was buried under the old Apse at Bunkle, a fragment of the Pre-Reformation Parish Church. (Romanes, loc. cit.).

Porankston Febr 12th 1753.

Dear Brother,

About five months agoe I had the plessure of receiving yours from the hands of my son [Ninian] and was glad to hear the good accounts he gave of you all. Was verie hard on him why he had spent so little of his time by you. Could find no excuse but that his stay in the countray was shorter than he expectit and his businiss would not alow him. His Proutly ship is out against July first. How he is to be disposed of that is not yet determant. Am in mind it will be thought proper for him once more to come to your countray which if he do you will know. His father will glve him a small start but he gave it out that money can not so esayly be made by trade as formerly, traders being so increased in every countray. I wrote you some months agoe directit to Ninian but he was left the countray before it could come to hand but supposing you may have got yours wherein I gave you a small acount of the news of our countray, as to the melancolly acount of Lady Billies dath. Ninian would tell you in what great good sircomstances she was left by her hus-She lived with her six children 3 sons and 3 daughters sometimes in town & sometimes in the countray. She was in the countray August 51 [i. e. 1751] her own man servant lodge himself below her bed till under night when he ent her days. She hearing spoke upon which the wrech providit a niffe and cut her throat. She lived about 3 days but spoke little. In the January affter he was hanged between Leath and Edinbroa & that hangs in chaens. He had brought her a soam of money from her ffacttor a few days befor. Her eldest son [Patrick] was an still is abroad. She and hirs lived in all fullness. was but a verie small sher that my husband got tho he is the only child alive by the first marage, however we are verie happie and has as much with good mannagement as may put our children in a way to gain their bread, and happiness do not consist in riches. I beg you will take ever oppertunity to let me hear how you are and what your young folk [George's six sons] is doing. Would be glad to know if I could serve you in any thing att such a disttance, and I expect you will lett me hear from you. Direct your letters to John Hunters care in Dunce [Duns]. This Porankston my letter is direct from is to be my place of resedence. It is a small purches Mr. Home has made in east Loddon [Lothian]. It is about ten miles from Dunce. Before I end I must tell you my Mother ceapts hir helth very well. The Doctor [Surgeon Patrick Hume, R. N., the writer's brother] for some time was in a verie bad way but has got his hilth a little better. The Captain (Captain John Hume, R. N., another brother) holds out well this Winter. The Laird [her eldest brother, David Hume of Wedderburn] lives still a bachshillar. Thats the way the Mother and the three sons. My daughter is the only young bodie in the family. Mr. Home [Alexander Home of Jardinfield, her husband] sends his love to you and your family.

I am your Most Afft Sister,

Isabell Home.

George's answer to the above letters of his sister Isabel follows. It gives an interesting picture of the troubles with the French colonists which began the French and Indian War, that phase of the Seven Years War which was carried on in the American Colonies. The naval services of George's four brothers, as described in their letters, were against the French and Spaniards in that war.

Dear Sister:

I received yours from Edrom dated June 16th 1752—am glad to hear you & family are well. I wrote to you a short time afterwards but am sensible it did not come to hand because the messenger I sent it by I hear is now in Carolina & do not imagine went home. Am heartily glad to hear out relations are well, more especially yt our Mother keeps her health so well and by what I hear from you she holds out better than her sons for I find the Captⁿ [Captain John Hume, R. N.] is very crazy [infirm] and also ye Doctor [Surgeon Patrick Hume, R. N.] & for my part I have held it out amongst out mountains beyond expectation and has in my time been one of the last as ever went into my business lying in far of our mountains & I am being so dim sighted I can not see ye back woods but soon it is over. I begin to be almost ashamed so since my Mother keeps in so good health but to be very crazy [infirm] by ye hardships I have endured in lying out in our back woods but now I must give out the very much agnst my will. Am sorry to hear out sister Jean is so unhappily matched tho as she is contented it is a happy time, our business in ye

world depending entirely on contentment. Contentment with a small living must certainly be better than great riches with discontent. I likewise reca a letter from Branxton dated Febr. 12th 1753. I think, dear Sister, Ninian gives you a true state of trade in this country. I must tell you how it is. I do not know but our factors as comes in [MS. torn] ways is more than I am acquainted with but by that time they can have 2 or 3 years. They get estates to themselves come of their owners that will, they take care of themselves & it is improbable they & ye owners at hame both can get estates & to mention so many fine fellows here all bedaubed with gold & silver lace, fine times, money flying & in 2 or 3 years fine states in land & negroes, surely that must come out of ye owners pockets & it is impossible them & ye owners both can thrive so fast that trade must sink & indeed they are innumerable. The goods always were most extravigantly dear but now therefore got ye parties so much in debt that I believe they are more in debt to ye merchants that they might be able to pay in years, if ever yt. Now they have what they please for their goods, & will give almost nothing for Tobo [tobacco] for they are sure of it being owing to them, & if a man offers to you buy them [tobacco] where they are, perhaps to get a better price, yⁿ [then] the poor mans estate is sold to pay ye Mercht both land & negroes & yt is ye end of yt poor planter & ye Merchant gets his estate for a small matter, but I do not imagine ye owners at home are ye better of it, though it comes out of their pockets & I imagine it is what makes ye [illegible] at home, as we hear, break. This is a true state of ye trade in our country at y' time & really if they hold on which I am very apt to believe they will. Goods are become so dear ye country being so much in debt to ye mercht yt we shall scarcely be able to get ourselves shirts & oyr necessaries. I must tell you a piece of news wen no doubt you have herd of, tho perhaps not ye sircumstances. We live in a very large country ye extent I believe is not known being settled several hundred miles back since I came to it in 1721. We have now got on ye branches of ye Misissippy river so nigh ye French yt they do not like our coming so nigh to ym. I do not hear they do any mischief to our backsettlers only build forts very nigh to us to stop ustill we took up arms against ym to defend our King's wrights & to guard our back settlers on Ohio river, a branch of Misisippy, where we have some settlers also a great many settlers on several branches of Misissippy besides that river which lies all to ye westward of us. We had a fort built there by a company

of gentⁿ who had taken up great quantities of land on Ohio⁵⁰ but as soon as done ye French made bold to possess it without blood shead. There was a great noise in ye country ye French were coming upon us. Several young men listed themselves & then beat up for volunteers to fight ye French and I believe got about 400 in Virga who went out.51 Ye French raised men also & some time about ye end of May last a party of our souldiers met with a party of ye French. I am in formed by French Prisoners which I saw, there were 35 of y^m and 32 of our men besides some of our Indians. They had a skirmish & understand our men killed 7 of ye French—one got away & ye rest they sent down to Williamsburg prisoners & only lost one man. We built a fort on ye same river ohio as ye French at some distance where our men lay & I hear intended to ly by for more recruits being far inferior to ye French. We had, I believe, 200 come from New York,⁵² 200 or 3 hundred from Carolina which were to go under ye command of Coll Ennis, a Scotsman who was to be chief commander, who came from Carolina. But before they

⁵⁰ This was the Ohio Company, formed in 1748 and composed of prominent Virginia colonists and a few men of London. The corporation was granted five hundred thousand acres on the Ohio River. (Koontz's *The Virginia Frontier*, 1754-1763, p. 39).

⁵¹ Virginia was the first of the colonies to feel the force of French intrigue and French hostility to British rule west of the Alleghanies. Not only so but the extent of Virginia's territory, though expressed in somewhat vague terms, meant the retention or loss for England of what we now regard as a section of the United States second to no other in wealth and desirability. When we recall that Virginia's territory extended from the 'Forks of the Ohio' (now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania) to the borders of the Carolinas, and that the entire grant included territory from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, we appreciate what was involved in the contention with the French for land granted to the Ohio Company as part of the vast area to which Virginia laid claim in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Of course the term 'Mississippi River' meant at the time nothing very definite to men of England or even to the colonist of Virginia" (Koontz's The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763, p. 12). In 1752 the Virginia Assembly passed an "Act for encouraging persons to settle on the waters of the Mississippi in the County of Augusta" (Hening's Statutes VI, p. 258). In Governor Dinwiddie's Report to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations (1755), he says of the colonly, "the western boundry as yet is not well known, nor can it be expected to be fully known for some ages". (Koontz, p. 39).

⁵² Two independent companies were sent from New York to the aid of Dinwiddie in the Washington expedition to Great Meadows, but arrived too late to be of any service. Dinwiddie candidly told the Governor of New York that his tardiness had occasioned the defeat of Washington there. (Koontz, p. 66).

got up to ye fort ye French set on our men and has quite beat y^m with a very great slaughter on both sides. Our men behaved nobly but, so far inferior in number ye French being as was supposed about 900 & we only between 3 & 400, y^t we were obliged to quit ye field make peace for one year and none of us go over ye Alligany Mountains which they say is ye King of Frances land. In ye time what y^t will turn out I can not tell. The head officers are gone to consult wth ye Governour, [Dinwiddie] but what is to be done or if we are to keep ye peace, or go on again wth recruits is not yet known though in a few days I am in hopes we shall know. I have this day wrote to your husband & shall again in a little time as soon as I hear more news. My family are all well & remember their love to you and yours, hoping you are ye like w^{ch} is all at present from

Your loving Brother G.hume.

July 20th 1754 Culpepper Co. Virga
To Mrs. Isabell Home at Brankston near Dunbar in East
Lothian.

Further acount of the French and Indian war is given in this letter to George's brother Captain John Hume, R. N. It may be noted here that George's second son, Francis, mentioned in this letter served in that war under Captain John Field of the Culpeper County Militia (*List of Colonial Soldiers of Va.*, Va. State Libr., 1917, p. 52).⁵³

Dear Brother

I take ye opportunity to let you know we are all well only I am grown so crazy [infirm] no more fit to go in the back woods. Our country is so far back settled that we are obliged to go above 100 miles before I can come to work. I am so broke by ye hardships I have indured in lying in ye backwoods that we are obliged to go, also have lost my sight so far that without spectacles can scarce discern ye degrees of my

Washington of August 19, 1756, he says in part: "I shall be glad [if] the Draughts made after the return of the Militia be as you desire; from Prince William, Fairfax, and Culpeper to march directly to Winchester, and please write to the Command'g Officer accordingly, as I am so much hurried that I have not time; you may write in my Name". (Koontz's *The Virginia Frontier*, 1754-1763, p. 159).

compass yt it kills me to travel so far and over such mountains as you know we have & of late have been very much afflicted by colds and lying out so much wen now begins to come upon me. When James [his brother, Lieutenant James Hume, R. N.] was in ye country I was always telling him I used to go to ye branches of Misosipy⁵⁴ to survey land there & he used to laugh at me thinking it impossible, as I believe however it has now proved true for we have at last met with ye French. A parcel of gentlemen who have got a grant from ye King for a great deal of land in Ohio a branch of Misossippy, last spring built a fort on this river. Ye French let ym alone till finished then come & took possession without blood shed but before that I do understand any damage to our back settlers. Only built forts I suppose to stop us from coming any nearer we thinking the land belong to us and they think it belongs to y^m. Then there was a great noise went about the French were coming upon us. Several young men inlisted themselves, beat up for volunteers and I believe got about or near 400 in Virga and who went out against ye French & at the same time raised an army also and some time since about ye end of May last, a party of our souldiers met with a party of ye French.⁵⁵ I am informed by ye French prisoners who I saw, there were 35 of ym and 32 of our men, besides some of our indians, had a skirmish and I understand our men killed 9 of ye French, one got away and ye rest they took prisoners and sent down to Williamsburg & we only lost one man. Our men

⁵⁴ See previous footnotes anent the Colonists ideas as to the location of the Mississippi River.

⁵⁵ Governor Dinwiddie, with the advice of Council and co-operation of the Ohio Company, sent Captain William Trent in mid-winter (1754) to erect a fort at the Forks of the Ohio where Washington thought one should be erected. In order to back up Trent the Governor increased the force to be sent to the frontier to six small companies of fifty men each. Washington, then aged 21, declined the Governor's offer to put him in charge, thinking himself too young for such responsibility, so that Joshua Fry was appointed Colonel and Washington Lieutenant-Colonel. As matters turned out (Fry died) Washington bore the brunt of the whole campaign. Trent had a party of thirty-three men. They built, in part, a fort at the forks of the Ohio (site of the present Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). Leaving Ensign Ward in charge Trent had returned to Wills Creek (Fort Cumberland, Maryland) on private business. In the mean time a French force of considerable numbers had compelled Ward and his men to leave their unfinished fort and to leave that part of the frontier. Washington arrived at Wills Creek April 20, 1754, in command of about 150 men and learned of Trent's disaster. As Washington and his men approached a place called Great Meadows, he learned that a party of French were marching towards them determined to attack the first English they should meet. The famous encounter with

built a fort on ye same river Ohio as the French & some distance from thers wherein our men lay & I imagine intended to ly by for some more recruits being far inferior in number to ye French. We had, I believe, some come from New York & 2 or 3 hundred from Carolina who were to go under the command of one Coll Ennes,56 a scotsman from Carolina who was to be chief commander but before they got out to our army ye French set on ours and has quite beat ym with a great slaughter on both sides. Out men behaved very well but being so far inferior in number to ye French they being supposed to be 900 and we but between 3 & 400 men wer obliged to yield, quit ye field, make peace for one year & none of us to go over ye Alligany mountains which they say belong to ye King of France. Since what will be ye event I know not yet that. I am obliged to give out going so far & content myself with a little business about home for unless I were to move 2 or 3 hundred miles farer back it would not be worth my while to move & yt is what I can not think of doing if I can make any other shift. I have taken your advice about my sons. I have two now of age, Geo. and Francis. Geo follows my business however he is very careful & industrious but unless he goes 3 or 400 miles back it will not be worth his while, tho he works now for me & am in hopes he will do well. Frances is the planter & I am in hopes he will do very well. As for John I am in hopes he may do well enough, but I could never persuade him to go in a merchant

M. de Jumonville was the result. De Jumonville and some of his men were killed. The English colonists had drawn first blood. The counter attack led by de Jumonville's brother was the occasion of Washington's building the rude structure known as Fort Necessity. The French far outnumbered Washington's force but were chary of a near approach to his fortification. Both forces were firing at long range, and after some losses on both sides, the French commander suggested such remarkable terms to Washington, probably not knowing the weakness of the latter's force, that the colonial commander felt compelled to accept them and marched away with the honors of war. This is known as the capitulation of Fort Necessity and created no little consternation at the capital of Virginia. (Koontz, loc. cit.).

⁵⁶ Colonel James Innes was a great favourite with Governor Dinwiddie, also a Scotsman. The Governor has been accused, probably unjustly, of prefering him to George Washington as commander-in-chief. Certainly at this time Dinwiddie and Washington had differences of opinion concerning the occupation of Fort Cumberland, giving occasion for the exchange of some very plain letters between them (Koontz, p. 31). Fort Cumberland (the present Cumberland, Maryland) lay directly across the path westward from Virginia to the Forks of the Ohio (the present Pittsburg, Pennsylvania) and here the Ohio Company had built a warehouse as early as 1750 (Koontz, p. 115). Braddock's route led by it.

ship though he never will tho the Captⁿ as brought him offered him his mates place if he would go home again with him, but he would not go & still wants to be in a Kings Ship. I have 3 younger sons who I intend God willing to bind to good trades y' they may know how to get their living—no daughters. Am glad to hear our Moth^r holds out so well. Pray give my duty to her with my respects to ye Doctor & Laird [his brothers Patrick and David], I am

Your Most Affectionate Brother

G.hume.

Culpepper Co. Virga Aug 22nd 1754

To Capt'n John Hume at Wedderburn, Politeness to the care of Mr. John Hunter, Merchant in Duns, Scotland. P. S. Should be glad to hear from James [his brother] in what place or nation he is in.

Our assembly are now sitting I believe chiefly on y' occurrence,⁵⁷ if we shal soon hear. I have no ay' news to tell you. Money is so scarce it is a rare thing to see a dollar and at publick places where great monied men must be on Cock fighting, horse racing &c, ye noise is not now as it used to be, one pistole to 2, or 3 pistoles to one, it is now common to cry 2 cows & calves to one, or 3 to one, or sometimes 4 hogsheads of tob¹ [tobacco] to one & y' gives no price, so I do not know how we shall maintain a war, ye French having very much ye advantage of us.

G. h.

In George's next letter to his brother-in-law he describes Braddock's Defeat.

Sir,

I take ye oppertunity of letting you know we are all well in you country but very much oppressed wth ye warrs as we have had here some years. I do not doubt you have herd of the bad

fact on the day that this letter is dated. It did nothing. The fifth session soon followed and passed a bill compelling all able-bodied men who had no visible means of support to serve as soldiers, also appropriating £20,000 for the protection of the frontier, the money to be raised by a poll tax. At the sixth session, May 1, 1755, Governor Dinwiddie had the pleasure of announcing that Major General Edward Braddock had been sent from England with two regular regiments to "drive the French from the Ohio Valley" (Dinwiddie Papers I, p. 11; Koontz, p. 57 et sq.)

success we had last year when Gen^{r1} Braddock commanded.⁵⁸ We lost as I am informed by waggoners there present, about 12 or 13 hundred men and I do not understand they can give any acct [account] of any damage as our men did. For the indians did not for themselves only lay in ambush as the wolves for our army as they were passing and I do not understand there were above 500 of ym & they did not show them-The indians has done a great deal of damage—has cut off a great many people and still continues. They have murdered & slayed several hundred besides carried away a great many prisoners. They murder a great many of us & we get but few of them & am very much afraid without some speedy help they will do a great deal more mischief for almost every day we hear of some one or other being murdered by ym. They have now got above 100 miles down among our back inhabitants and still comes lower and lower. I am heartily glad my Mother holds out so well & by what I can find out better than her sons for by what I understand ye Doctor [his brother Patrick] and ye Captⁿ [his brother John] have failed for many years. Yet I find ye contrary as for the Laird [his brother David & I think nothing of him for I do not suppose he ever has indured ye hardships both night & day as any of us has. I want to hear very much where James [another brother, Captain in the Royal Navy] is. I have not heard from him this great while or if he has got a ship or not. My family & I am in good health & remembers our love to

⁵⁸ General Braddock commanded the 44th and 48th regular British regiments. Though a brave and experienced soldier about the only wise thing he did in connection with this campaign was to appoint Washington one of his aides-de-camp. Every schoolboy knows the story of how Braddock was introduced to the Indians for the first time at Cumberland; of how he refused to heed the advice of Washington and others who had had experience in Indian warfare; of how while marching through the forest they were suddenly attacked by what seemed to be an "invisible foe"; of how confusion reached such limits that the only soldiers who were doing effective service in killing the Indians were shot down by Braddock's own men; of how the General and Washington seemed impervious to fear, each having horse after horse killed under him; of how the General finally fell and was carried to safety by two of the Virginians; of how a few days later Washington read the last rites of the Church over his body which was buried in the middle of the roadway; and of how Washington covered the retreat and saved the remnant of the little army. The defeat occured on July 9, 1755. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Colonel Dunbar, deplored that 300 French and Indians defeated 1,300 British, and adds: "Dear Colonel, is there no method left to retrieve the dishonour done to British arms?" (Koontz.

you all. Pray remember me to my cousins, Peggy's [his sister Margaret's] children & all enq^r friends, which is all at present from

Your Most obliged Servt,

G. hume.

June ye 20th 1756

To Alexander Home of Jardinfield Esqr at Braxton in East Lothian to ye care of ye Post Master at Dunbar.

The following letter tells of the deaths of two of George's brothers, one of whom was killed in a naval engagement with the French. Both officers were unmarried. Of one of them, or possibly their brother Francis who died in 1732, the following story is told in a manuscript among family papers in Scotland. While serving in Spain he met the daughter of a noble Spanish family and desired to marry her, which her father forbade on account of the difference in religion and country. She was placed in a convent where her lover and another Scottish officer, whose sweetheart was similarly confined, managed to send a letter, and an escape was planned. At night the ladies succeeded in climbing over the convent wall, but in the descent Lieutenant Hume's lady fell and, breaking her leg, was discovered and taken back, though her companion escaped and later married the officer. Young Hume when he returned to Wedderburn Castle, threw into the moat the ring that he had intended as a wedding ring. It was found many years afterwards when the moat was drained and is now at Paxton House. It is inscribed inside My heart (the figure of a heart is used in place of that word) you have yours I crave.

Wedderburn 12th Dec^r 1758.

Dear Br

Rec^d yours of the 16th of June with bill and have paid it according to James Hunters directions. Am perfectly content you should do the same yearly at least wilst things continues in such a precarious situation in your neighborhood. The last Summer we have met with the loss of two of our Brothers. John died here in August. James was killed, comd^r

of the Pluto fire ship, the first cruize he went out after he got the command, by a French man of war in April last, so that you see I am the only one left of four of us that went to sea. As to myself I am not in a good state of health but I think better this last year than for some years past. I hope to be able to answer the demand as above whilst I live and you have occasion for it. What may happen after that God only knows. The Laird [David Hume of Wedderburn, the eldest brother] has had a very severe fitt of illness at Edinbs. I was with him about a month—is perfectly recovered but not yet got to the countray. Out mother is in very good health but from a parolettick fitt she had some years agoe can not walk without crutches. All are tolerable well & am

Your Affect Br

Pat Hume.

Francis Hume the fifth son of the forfeited Laird had died in 1732. He was the fourth of the brothers who went to sea. We have no letter either from or to him.

The last letter to George from his sister Isabel is the following, written a few months before his death. It contains further reference to members of the family already mentioned in former letters. (See Ninian Home's letter, page 63.)

Wadderburn, Dec 5th 1759.

Dear Brother,

I had yours datht the 30th July 1759 which gave me great pleasure to hear from you. I wrote you in Marst last web by this time may have come to hand but I, finding this opertounity by a brother of Jas Hunters, will give you a small account of your feou relations. My Mother lucks & is as well as ever I remember her only she can not walk without the help of two staves which misfortoun she mett with four years agoe by a fall. The Laird David Hume of Wedderburn, the eldest brother] is still goeing about in his old way, pritty much bold for his years and the Doctor [Patrick, the third brother] is a man just hinging together with eas[e] & good ceaping. That is just the way the three ceapts, however with a daughter of mine now attending them wan after orther. As to thar worldly affairs no body know anything about. Our tou [two] dear brothers [John and James] left considderabell which is supposed to fall to the Doctor which was right & just to doe as he

was allways as a father to tham and did for tham when they went first abroad. How he desiears to dispose of his, none of us knows nore do we yeous the friedom to ask. The Doctor is a verie good man & dos a great many cherritabell things to pour pippel but carries [himself] at such a distance that no boddie dear [dare] ask any quastions. I spoak to him wance to send a litle but came to no particklars. He has you verie much at heart. I think you should ask what you think convent [convenient]. He is a most tender hearted mane as ever lived. As for Sister Jean [the youngest sister] I wrot you long agoe she was marrat to a minister [Rev. John Tod] living at Lady Kirk on Twetsed [Tweedside] six miles from Wedderburn. My Mother nore the Lard [their brother David of Wedderburn] has never seen her. He was the man that tocht Mr. Home of Billies childern. She has 3 sons [James, afterwards Minister of Fogo; George, afterwards Minister of Ladykirk; and John of Eyemouth] and 2 daughters & lives but loan. Soe the Leard of Billy⁵⁹ lives at the rate of great fortoun. He is rely oncind [unkind] to his brothers & 3 sisters [Isabel, Jean, and Elizabeth] which is verie fine young laddays. He has 2 brothers in the armmy [David and Thomas]. I myself is as happie with my small fortoun as they may be with their bige ons. Am afread you will be spent with reding of this. When my daughters wrote you it will be better spelled, the reding & spelling being taught in a quat [quite] differint way than in my time. I shall write you again soun & shall be glead to hear from you. With oppertunity thar is now but few.

From Your Affact Sister,

Isabell Home.

The next letter gives further information of the deaths of George's brothers John and James. It also mentions that Ninian Home, son of Alexander Home of Jardinfield and George's sister Isabel, who, as previously shown, had visited

of Billy by his second marriage, i. e. to Margaret, eldest daughter of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn (sister to the writer of the above letter). This Patrick was born May 22 1728 and died in London December 19, 1809, unmarried. He succeeded to the estates of Wedderburn as heir of his mother, upon the death of his uncle Dr. Patrick Hume, R. N., in 1766. He was himself succeeded by his brother General David Home, formerly known as of Caldra.

Virginia, had gone to Saint Christophers (St. Kitts.) in the West Indies. His tragic end may be noted here. After some years residence in that island he removed to the island of Grenada where he was made Governor in 1793. In 1795 there was an uprising of the slaves and in the massacre of the white people which followed Ninian was killed. Evidently the negroes of Grenada had been enboldened by the success of those of the nearby French colony of Haiti whose sanguinary and successful revolution of 1791 had led to freedom in 1795 of all the slaves of that island.

Branxton Jany 30th 1759.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure of both your letters, the one of Aug 1757 I recd a year after ye date. Am sorry to tell you that James [George's brother] was killed in Spring last engaging a French letter of Marque Ship in the bay of Biscay. It was hard to be killed in his first cruize and just when life became tolerable to I am sure he dearly earned what he got and think he merited a better fate but that now a days is too little minded. Poor man he is gone & I hope is happy. Your brother the Capt [John Hume] who had been long afflicted with the gout, died 30th of Augt last. Can not inform you how they settled their affairs as none of your brothers spoke to me of it. Lady Wedderburn [George's mother] looks as well as she has some twentie years past—walks upon crutches, occasioned by a fall she got about three years agoe. The Laird [David, the eldest brother] has been dangerously ill of a fever, is now seemingly well but recovers his strength slowly. The Doctor [Patrick, the third brother] is but tender, keeps his health pretty well by care and regular living. This is a melancolly subject—must give you concern which I sincerely sympathize with you in. I delivered my cusins letter to his sister 60 which she has answrd. My family I hope are all well, but dispersed. Ninian has been settled in 'St Christophers these three years past. George is following out his business as a writer. 61 Have got him appointed Commisar of Lauder, tho of a small profit may be a means to

⁶⁰ See George's letter of 15 February 1751, also footnote 49.

⁶¹ That is, he was a Writer to the Signet. Scottish law agents so designated correspond to solicitors or attorneys in England and the United States. They were originally clerks in the secretary of state's

bring him into business. My oldest daughter has been with her grandmother [Lady Wedderburn] this four years past. Have ye young boy ffrank and two daughters at home. I regret your situation in time of war but hope you are now safe & if the next campaign be as successful as the last I hope the French will be driven out of America, at least will be confined within verie narrow limits. All your friends in Edinbr are well. My two youngest brothers David and Tom 62 have been verie luckie, the first having been but about three or four years in the army and has now a Troop in the Scots Grays now in Germany. The other is a Leftenant in the Scots fusilers at Gi-The Doctor [George's brother, Patrick] recd yours braltar. of Augt 1757 and I hear you honoured your draught. You are no higher taxed than we are in this country. There are fourteen millians here to be raised for the service of the cur-

office and prepared the different writings passing the signet. They are members of the College of Justice and by long custom are considered a corporation. Under the terms of the Act of Union they are eligible to the Scottish bench after ten years practice. George Home latter succeeded to the estate of Wedderburn as heir to his mother, as is shown below.

62 They were the sons of Ninian Home's second marriage. David was afterwards General David Home of Wedderburn, who died without issue in 1809. Thomas died at Exeter, England, in 1802. He married and had a daughter who married Captain Charles Belloch, a French prisoner of war, who had been naturalized in 1803, but left no issue (Wedd. MSS. intro. p. 11n). George, a son of Ninian's first marriage was also in the army and was wounded at the battle of Fontenoy in 1743 (Ninian Home's MSS. notes). Letters written from Germany by General David Home during the Seven Years War give interesting comments on the campaign (cf. Wedd. MSS. Nos. 281-4). The following anecdote relating to General Home was written down, about a century ago, by a member of the family who states that he "heard it from an officer of the Greys at his home", the General having commanded that regiment. "A soldier was undergoing a punishment on the picket, inflicted by a court martial for some misdemeanor whilst the General, then Lieutenant-Colonel Home, the Commanding Officer, was walking backwards and forwards during the time the man was undergoing the punishment, who from his sufferings repeatedly called out to Colonel Home for God's sake to order him to be taken down. The Colonel continued to walk as formerly without noticing his cries at which the man exclaimed in a rage, 'I wish to God Norman Ross had murdered you instead of your mother'. This of course he did not expect to relieve him from his sufferings, but it unexpectedly succeeded, as the Colonel immediately halted & called out without making a single observation, 'Take the fellow down'." It is said that after the murder the family would never have a servant of the name Ross. General Home's uniform as an officer of the Scots Greys is preserved at Paxton House (Mr. Wm. Maddan's MS. notes).

rent year. My wife [George's sister Isabell] would have wrote you by this oppertunity but delayed it untill a nother. Shall always be glad to hear of your and familys well being. I am

Your most obt Servt

A. Home.

The end of George's life drew nigh. We may picture him, old before his time from the hardships and exposure described in his letters. Coming to an English colony as a penniless young Scot of twenty-three, without friends and without means of earning a livelihood until he became a surveyor, his life was a hard one indeed. Even though he finally became a landed proprietor and held office in the colony, Virginia was to him "this Indian countrie", and he never ceased to think of Scotland as home. His passionate attachment to the land of his birth was transmitted to his sons and through them to their posterity. He might have said with Robert Gilfillan:

O why left I my hame?
Why did I cross the deep?
O why left I the land
Where my forefathers sleep?
I sigh for Scotia's shore
And I gaze across the sea,
But I canna get a blink
O' my ain countrie.

There's a hope for every woe
And a balm for every pain,
But the first joys o' the heart
Come never back again.
There's a track across the deep
And a path across the sea,
But the weary ne'er return
To their ain countrie.

He died in Culpeper County in 1760, between April 2 on which date he had written to his brother Patrick (see letter below), and June 19 when administration of his estate was ordered by the Culpeper County Court. Like his uncle, Francis Hume of Quixwood, "his banes were laid far frae the Tweed"; he was buried in Culpeper County. News traveled but slowly, for Patrick's letter was written nearly a year after George's death:

Wedderburn, 28th April 1761.

Dear Br,

Rec^d yours of the 2nd of April 1760. Have paid the bill of twenty pounds to Jno Hunter, B^r to James—were likewise given Jno Hunter a bill for 100£ to be paid you in shares by his Brother Jas which bill I shall pay as soon as they produce me a receipt under your hand that you have rec^d the value. I hope you will put it to the best use you can. I have been worse than usual for some weeks past not being able to ride on horse back as usual but I still go out in the chese [chaise]. Have settled matters so that whatever comes of me the 100£ will be paid you. Your Moy^r [mother] and all hear are tolerable well & I am

Your affect Br

Pat Hume.

The following is the record of the administration of George's estate:

In obedience to an order of Culpeper Court dated June 19th 1760, we the subscribers now being first sworn before William Green, Gent. have appraised the estate of George Hume, dec^d presented to our view according to the following inventory:

6	Cows & Calves £12. 0. 0 2 young stears @			
	18/- 1 heifer 30/£	15	6	0
3	yearlings 36/- 1 old bull 20/- 1 black mare			
	£6 5 0£	9	1	0
1	sow 2 pigs 8 year old hogs 30/- 2 ewes &			
	lambs 18/£	2	8	0
1	Black Horse £11. 0. 0 1 saddle & bridle 20/-			
	1 Gunn 20/£	13	0	0

Old Iron Lumber 3/6 80 lbs old iron 16/8£		19	2
1 Branding iron 2/6 Hominy Pestle 1/£		4	6
Carpenters Tools 4/6 2 Bells 6/- 4 tight Hhds			
with covers 20/£	1	10	6
8 Sixty Gallon casks £2 1 Hhd small cask 5/-			
2 tubs 2 runlets 4/£	2	9	0
1 still and tub £18 1 washing tub 1 pail 3 piggens	_		
[small tube] 12/6	18	12	6
[small tubs] 12/6£ 2 Iron Potts & hooks 1 iron oven 25/£	1	- 5	- 0
2 Iron Basons 1 old axe 1 iron potrack£			
1 griddle, gridiron, fleshforks & Ladle 5/- 1 bed	U	- 15	- 0
bedstead & furniture downstairs£	6	_ 5	_
1 bed bedstead & furniture above stairs £7-9-0	U	- 5	- 0
1 bed bedstead do. and do. £4-0-0£	11	9	0
5 chairs $12/6$ 8 chairs $12/-$ 2 tables $2/6$ £	1	7	0
1 table 15/- 1 desk 60/- 1 case bottles 20/- \pm	4	15	0
2 pr doggs 20/- 1 woolen wheel 7/6£	1	7	6
1 large chest 25/- 1 iron pocket compass£	1	10	0
Spice Mortar & Pestle 4/- A parcel of glass and	1	10	U
earthern ware 4/-	0	8	0
6 earthern plates 4/- 2 brass candlesticks 10/6£	0	10	6
2 Canisters 6d. 1 Toaster 2/6 1 Tea Kettle 8/£	0	11	0
1 Pr cotton cards 1/- 4 lbs spun cotton 11/- 1 lb	U	TT	U
cotton 1/9£	0	13	9
1 Box iron and heaters 6/- 1 case knives & forks	U	10	9
2/-3 stone jars£	Ω	13	0
2 small rundlets 2/- A parcel of Books & flute£			
½ gross bottles 18/- 1 dress ^a buckskin 10/-	U	1.24	
3 silver spoons 25/- \pounds	2	13	0
1 brass spoon & fork 1/3 Parcel of old silver		10	
buckles 25/-	1	6	3
Pr. money scales 2/6 A parcel of lumber, horse	•	O	
fleams &c. $2/16$	0	5	0
1 looking glass 6d. 1 Tub 2/- 1 sword & belt 30/- £	1	22	6
Case pistols 10/- Fringed Howsir 20/- 6 Soup	_		
plates 10/- 2 dishes & 3 plates 8/£	2	8	0
1 disk 5/- 3 new basons $12/-5$ old do. $10/6$ £	1	7	6
1 pewter sugar pot 1/6 1 bed pan 4/£		5	6
3 Butter pots 4/6 Punch bowl & porringer 4/6£	0	9	0
1 meal tub 7/6 1 powdering do. 7/6 2 old searcher			
& meal sifter $1/-$	0	16	0
1 sett surveyors instruments, saddle baggs£		0	0
Collar Hames and Traces 1/9 9 lbs wool 5/7£		6	7
Conai Traines and Traces 1/9 9 108 Wool 3/7	U	U	

1 load stone inclosed in brass 10/- 1 hone & cas	se			
of razors 4/5	£	0	14	0
1 case instruments 25/- head of staff 1/-	£	1	6	0
2 Pr spectacles 1 burning glass 5/- 1 brass rul	le			
1/3- 3 compass needles 1/10	£	0	8	1
	£1	27	17	10
TT D: 1.1				

H Field

William Stanton Gerrard Banks

July 17th 1760. This inventory was returned to Court & ordered recorded. Teste Roger Dixon Clk.

(Culpeper County Will Book A, p. 227, also 374)

Even in this small list of personal possessions we find many articles that we would expect, such as his surveyors instruments, including brass rule, "load stone", compass, drawing instruments, etc. The sword and belt remind us of his service in the Colonial Militia while the flute confirms the family tradition that he played on that instrument. The two pairs of spectacles and the "burning" or magnifying glass recall his letters to his brothers and sisters that his sight had so failed that he could not read the degrees on his compass.

He left no will so that there is no list of the lands that he held at the time of his death. The following incomplete abstract, however, accounts for some 7000 acres of land he acquired in Spotsylvania, Orange and Culpeper Counties.

2000 acres in Spotsylvania County by grant upon order of the Governour and Council in June 1728 (Crozier's Spots. Co., p. 108).

2500 acres in Spotsylvania County by grant upon order of the Governour and Council in June 1728 (ibid).

180 acres "on the branches of Deep Run in St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County", from his father-in-law, George Proctor, 3 June 1728 (Spots. Co., Will Bk. A. cf. Crozier, p. 102).

180 acres also on Deep Run from George Proctor, 3 July 1728 (ibid, p. 103).

400 acres in St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County, from John Asher, 3 February 1729-30 (ibid, p. 110).

- "A parcel of land in St. George's Parish on the ridge between Deep and Hazel Run" (size not stated) from George Proctor, 2 January 1731 (ibid, p. 116; cf. Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biogr., 1930, XXXVIII, p. 130, n. 12).
 - 390 acres "in Orange County on Col. Alexander Spotswood's line" from Charles Stewart, planter, 12 September 1735 (Orange Co. Deed Bk. 1, p. 143).
 - 46 acres "in Orange County on the Great Fork of the Rappahannock River; previously granted to Goodrich Lightfoot on 13 June 1726", on 28 February 1739 (Orange Co. Deed Bk. 3, p. 199).
 - 375 acres "on the River Sharandore [Shenandoah] on the line of Robert Turks to the back line of Beverly Manner" from William Beverly of Essex County, 28 February 1739 (Orange Co. Deed Bk. 3, p. 379).
 - 200 acres in Orange County adjoining John Spotswood and Thomas Stanton from "the Right Honourable Thomas, Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron in that part of Great Britain known as Scotland, Proprietor of the Northern Neck of Virginia", 20 May 1746. George Hume is described as "of Orange County". (Northern Neck Grants, Bk. G. p. 49, Va. Land Office).
 - 400 acres in Augusta County from Lord Fairfax. 19 October 1756. George Hume is described as "of Culpeper County". (ibid, Bk. H, p. 709).
 - 204 acres "in Brumfield Parish, Culpeper County" from Thomas Stanton, 26 March 1755 (Culpeper Co. Deed Bk. B, p. 338).

The "amount of his "personal" estate was very small, £127 17 0, which was in Colonial currency and not sterling (the Colonial pound was worth \$3.33 1/3 or 14/- sterling). In Virginia at this time even the more wealthy families often had but little in the way of personal effects, and such indeed may also be said of the country families in Scotland where, we are told, even the great nobles carried furniture from one house to another when they went into residence. Thus we find the following list of the personal effects of George's father, Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, Baronet, when the inventory was made in 1716 at the time of his forfeiture:

Inventar of what is found in the house of Wedderburn, 1716, In the old tour [tower]—Imprimis, in the old ston hall, a press to which Mrs. Home, Wedderburn's sister, pretends [claims] right to, two old chairs.

In the laigh roum—Another press to which Mrs. Home

pretends right to also.

In the mid roum—Ane old bed, two pair old blankets, a furm [form], two chairs, ane old bed, old hanging, the roum hung.

In the far roum—Ane old table, a bed with hangings, a pair of sheets, two pair of blankets, a boulster, four chairs, a stool, a furm, the roum hung, bars in the chimnie, a chackreel.

In the mid roum in the understoray—A table, four chairs,

with old hangings.

In the ladies roum in the same story—A table, half a dozen chairs, a hung bed, a roum hung, a feather bed, two pair of blankets, a pair of sheets, a long sadle [settle], with the chaff bed, two pair of blankets, a pair of sheets, a footstool with a cushion, a chimnie, a cradle for a child.

A roum in the stair—hung, with one chair and a chimney.

In the outmost roum in the high storey—The stoups of a bed, six clikens [?], bars in the chimney.

In the mid roum in the high storry—Two bedsteads on [e] with courtings with old coarse furniture; in the Transs [passage], ane old chest, a little chair.

In the far roum in the high storry—Seven chairs, a table, a bed hung, with a feather bed, a pair of sheets, two pair of blankets, a boulster, a little footstool, a grait with a back.

In the pantrie—A cupburd, a churn, a table, a voider [basket for bits of food], half a dozen milk bowies [casks], seven and twenty servets and tools [towels], three table claithes, five knives and three forks, a salt and nyne peuther [pewter] spoons.

In the kitchen—Ane awrie [cupboard], a bed and chaff bed, with two pair of blankets, a pair of sheets, two old lint wheels, a water tub, four little coiges [wooden vessels], a pat, and little kettle, four stools, two raxes, a spite [spit], fyfteen trunchers, six plates, a dropping pan and skellet pan, a morter stone, two old frying pans, a brander, a peuther [pewter] porringer, a chimney, three old candle-sticks, nine peuther spoons, four timber cups, a pair of toungs.

(Forfeited Estates Papers, H. M. Register House, Edinburgh, quoted by Madden, Home of Wedderburn, an Episode

of Loyalty and Disaster, Hist. Berwicksh. Naturalists Club, 1914, p. 299).

One cannot escape the suspicion that the best furniture and valuables (plate, etc.) may have been removed before the survey. It may be added here that "The Inventory of the Household Furniture att Linthill" and that of the Rev. Ninian Home of Billie's house in Edinburgh, both made just after his death in 1746, show but few articles of value, notwithstanding his wealth.

George Hume of Virginia had, as his letters have shown, six sons and no daughters. His estate was administered by his eldest son, George, and the discharge is signed by the other five sons, as follows:

Settlement of George Hume's Estate

Received of George Hume full satisfaction for our father's estate, and this is to certify that we nor our heirs have no claim nor demand against the said George Hume nor his heirs nor assigns for the same.

Witness our hands the 15th day of February 1773.

Francis Hume John Hume William Hume James Hume Charles Hume

At a court held for Culpeper County, March 15th 1773, this receipt was acknowledged by Francis Hume, John Hume, William Hume, James Hume and Charles Hume, as theirs, and ordered to be recorded. Teste John Jameson, Clk.

(Culpeper County Deed Book H, p. 676).

The following information is had of the six sons.⁶³ The data respecting the four younger sons are taken from previously

⁶³ The following anecdote was told by Lieutenant-General James Home of Broomhouse. The Homes of Broomhouse are descended from Patrick, youngest of the "Seven Spears of Wedderburn" as the sons of Sir David Home of Wedderburn, present at the battle of Flodden, were called (see page 19). "While the General was a Captain of Marines in His Majesty's Ship America, on the Halifax Station in the year 1800, he obtained leave of absence and proceeded to the residence of his brother who was living on an estate two miles from Fredericksburg, Virginia. Here he remained until May 1801. The presence

published genealogical works and may not be entirely accurate. It is not within the scope of this narrative to trace their lives.

- 1. George, born Spotsylvania County, 1729, became his father's assistant in surveying; his will dated 13 November 1790, was probated in Madison County, Virginia, on 23 December 1802; married Jane Stanton in 1754 and had issue: George, Reuben, Charles, William, [John], Elizabeth, Frances, and Sarah.
- 2. Francis, born Spotsylvania County, 1730, served in the Culpeper County Militia in the French and Indian War (Colonial Soldiers of Va., Va. State Libr.), and as a Captain of the Virginia State Line in the Revolution (Rev. Soldiers of Va., I, p. 232); an original member

of a British Officer in that part of America was then an unusual event; and the news of Captain Home's arrival having reached the Alleghany Mountains, a gentleman of the name of Home was induced to come to Fredericksburg to see him. He represented himself to Captain Home as the younger of two sons of George Home [second son of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn], and said that he had rode two hundred and fifty miles, purposely to converse with him, and brought apologies from his elder brother for not having accompanied him, saying he was too old to undertake such a journey. Mr. Home spoke of his father, whom he stated to be dead, was very anxious to know why he had not succeeded to Wedderburn, and shewed himself strongly impressed with his father's right to that property" (Sir Hugh Hume Campbell's Case, 1843, p. 55). George's second son (Francis) was in 1801 more than seventy years of age, being a year younger than his brother George. The General was of course mistaken in stating that there were but two sons, instead of six, but this is easily understood as half a century had elapsed since the incident and General Home was in 1843 a very old man. He was the son of William Home of Broomhouse, a noted Jacobite, who had been on the personal staff of Prince Charles Edward. He was capured at Culloden and condemned for high treason at Stirling, but reprieved on account of his being a minor. The Prince, for his services, presented him with his miniature, a medallion and a quaich or drinking cup (still preserved in the family). He afterwards served in the Prussian Army. General James Home of Broomhouse died unmarried in 1849 and was succeeded by his nephew, George Logan-Home of Broomhouse and Edrom, J. P., Colonel commanding the Haddington and Berwick Artillery Militia. He served in the Royal Marine Artillery at the taking of Morea Castle (Greece) and also in Spain. For his services he was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of the Redeemer of Greece. He died in 1870 and was succeeded by his son George John Ninian Logan-Home of Broomhouse. General Home had three brothers all of whom died without issue. They were William, Lieutenant in the Royal Army, who died in the West Indies; John, Colonel in the Royal Army, who died in India; and Patrick, who is probably the brother that General Home visited at his home near Fredericksburg in 1800.

- of the Society of the Cincinnati; died in Culpeper County, 1813 (Culpeper Will Book F, p. 457); married Elizabeth, daughter of James Duncan of Hamilton Parish, Fauquier County and had issue: Elizabeth, Nancy, Charles (Lieut. in War of 1812), James, Armistead, Benjamin, Francis, [Lewis and Peter].
- 3. John, born Spotsylvania County, 1732; served in the ship of his uncle James Hume, R. N. as midshipman and was present in engagements with French and Spanish vessels. Removed to Boston early in the American Revolution and later to Maine where he served in that war in the Lincoln County Militia. By his wife, Helinor Manson, he had issue: John, Charles (killed in the War of 1812), William (Captain in Navy), Helinor and three other daughters.
- 4. William, born in Fredericksburg, 1734; studied law; served in the Virginia Militia in the American Revolution, was wounded near Williamsburg in 1781, and received a land warrant for military services; died in Campbell County, Kentucky, in December 1809. He married Susan Elzaphan of South Carolina and had issue: Alexander (Lieut. 2nd South Carolina Continental Line, killed at siege of Savannah, 1777) and John; married secondly—Granville and had issue: George (Chaplain in Revolution), Jarred (officer on Wayne's staff in Revolution), Elzaphan, Elizabeth, and Patrick; married thirdly (1782) Mrs. Sarah Baker, née Benson, and had issue: Joel Benson.
- 5. James, born Orange County, married Frances Patterson in Maryland, 1781, and had issue: Anna, Mary, Samuel, [Robert], Isabella, William, James, Frances Jane, Andrew, Jane, John and David.
- 6. Charles, born in Orange County; married Hannah James of Fauquier County on December 26, 1764 and died April 7, 1821. Had issue: John, Anne, Benjamin, George, Elizabeth, Joseph, Humphrey, Robert, William Waller, Charles and Hannah James.

This list shows that three of George's sons and as many of his grandsons took part in the American War of Independence.⁶⁴ It is interesting in this connection to recall that William Hume, Lord Dunglass, eldest son of the ninth Earl of Hume was a Lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards and was mortally wounded at the battle of Guilford Court House in 1781. (Paul's, *The Scots Peerage*, IV, p. 481).

It will have been observed that George died before his elder brother David Hume of Wedderburn. David remained unmarried until he attained the age of 64 when (1761) he married Elizabeth, daughter of Dugall Campbell of Craignish (Burke's Fam. Records, p. 136). In this connection we find the following letter to David from Sir Hugh Hume, third Earl of Marchmont:

London, 24 December 1761

Sir,

In the midst of the only hurry we have had of attendance in the House of Lords, I received your letter of the 4th, and this is the first letter I write on getting some respite. All this house most sincerely congratulate you on your marriage and hope the introduction of the name of Campbell will be as happy to you as it has been into our branch of your family. Our best wishes we desire you will present to the Lady and accept of yourself. I can assure you John [Captain John Hume, R. N., David's brother] is not left unsollicited for; I am sorry it is to so little purpose. I shall be glad to be able to be of any use to Mr. Telfer. There can be no doubt of paying the officers of police, as the Court is now re-established, and you may surely gett money as usual. Remember me to your mother and the good Doctor [David's brother Patrick]. I am, most sincerely, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Marchmont.

(Wedd MSS No. 280).

⁶⁴ In a letter of 1781 one of George's sons remarked, à propos of his serving in the American Army in that war: "I am, indeed, not the first of my family who, in keeping with Scottish tradition, has served as an ally of France against the English and their German helpers." This reminds one of a much later statement, viz: that the American Revolution was won by an English gentleman named George Washington fighting against a German king for the rights that Englishmen had always demanded.

The remark about the introduction of the name of Campbell in the Marchmont branch of the Hume family refers to the parents of the writer, as Patrick Hume, second Earl of Marchmont, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir George Campbell of Cessnock.

David Hume of Wedderburn was Justice of the Peace for Berwickshire, 1732, and had been appointed Cashier to the Police at the instance of the Earl of Marchmont, who was first Lord of Police, to which a part of the above letter refers. David died without issue on 3 April 1762 (Musgrave's Obituary, III, p. 241), or (as stated in the Minutes of Evidence, Marchmont Peerage Case of 1838, p. 118) on 31st March.

The second son, George of Culpeper County (who had died in 1760), having been omitted from the new entail to the lands of Wedderburn as related, the extensive property devolved upon the third son, Patrick, Surgeon in the Royal Navy.65 Among family papers are a number of volumes of notes made by him, some of them detailing his medical and surgical labours on board a number of His Majesty's ships, on which he successively served about 1723-1740 and later. Lists of the sick seamen are given, and frequently details of their cases. He was present at Gibraltar during the siege in 1727 and gives details of the Spanish army and the officers and numbers killed and wounded; the instructions given to the Spanish army at the commencement of the siege, and of the artillery service of the British and casualties. (Wedd. MSS. No. 636). It may be noted in passing that William, eighth Earl of Hume was Governor of Gibraltar soon afterwards.

Patrick enjoyed the estate only two years and died unmarried on 14 February 1766 (Musgrave's Obituary, loc cit.), or

⁶⁵ On 22 November, 1764, Patrick was served lawful heir of line and of taillie to David his brother. The retour, which was produced in 1822 by the claimant to the Marchmont Peerage sets forth: "Inquisitio in curia, &c., facta &c., 22do die mensis Novembris 1764to, &c. jurati dicunt, &c. quod quond. David Home de Wedderburne Patricii Home nunc de Wedderburne præsentium latoris frater germanus, ultimo vestit. &c. obiit, &c. et quod dict. Patricius Home lator præsen. est legitimus et propinquior hæres liniæ, et etiam talliæ, &c. dict. quond. Davidis Home sui fratris, etc." (Marchmont Peerage Case, 1822, p. 15, note o.)

according to the Minutes of Evidence, Marchmont Case, (loc. cit.) on 8th February. The other three sons of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn having died unmarried before this time, the succession was now opened to the sons of Ninian Home of Billie by his second marriage, i. e. to Margaret, eldest daughter of the forfeited Laird. She had borne eleven children to Ninian Home, the records in Ninian's own handwriting, giving their names as follows: (1) Ninian (died at age of 13), (2) Patrick, (3) Isabel, (4) Abraham, (5) David, (6) Jean, (7) Andrew (died at age of 5), (8) Thomas, (9) Margaret (died young), (10) Elizabeth, and (11) Ninian (died in infancy). Of these seven sons, Patrick the eldest surviver succeeded as Laird of Billie in 1754 and to Wedderburn on the death of Dr. Patrick Hume. "He was a great traveler on the Continent and in Italy and left numerous note books and diaries of his peregrinations. He was, 1784-1796, Member of Parliament for Berwickshire and is said to have built the present houses of Wedderburn and Paxton. He died 19 December 1808 without issue and was succeeded by his next surviving brother General David Home, formerly known as of Caldra." He had served as an officer of the Scots Greys in the Seven Years War and, as stated, his letters from the Continent give interesting details of that war. He died in 1809 and was succeeded by his sister Jean, by this time the only surviving member of Ninian Home's second family. Jean died in December 1812 unmarried so that now the succession opened to the children of Alexander Home of Jardinfield, the eldest son of Ninian Home's first marriage, as heirs of their mother, Isabel, the second daughter of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn (see her letters above).

She had three sons, Ninian, George and Francis. Ninian had been murdered while Governor of Grenada, as already related. Francis had also died abroad. The second son, George Home of Paxton succeeded as Laird of Wedderburn. He was a friend of Henry Mackenzie, the author of "The Man of Feeling" etc., and was associated with his as a prominent member of the "Mirror Club". He was also a friend of Sir Walter

Scott,⁶⁶ who succeeded him as Clerk of Session, and of Admiral Sir David Milne, G. C. B. He was eighty-six years of age when he succeeded to Wedderburn and died in 1820 unmarried. He was the last of Ninian Home's descendants.

Under the entail of Ninian Home the Wedderburn lands and others of the family now passed to the descendants of Jean Home the youngest daughter of the forfeited Laird. She had married the Rev. John Tod, Minister of Ladykirk, regarding whom there is frequent mention in the letters of her brothers and sisters. Her eldest son James Tod succeeded to the estate and assumed the surname Home, survived but one year thereafter, and was succeeded by his only surviving sister Margaret Tod. She married (1779) John Foreman and had two sons

My dear Sir,

Will you pardon the vanity of an author in hoping a copy of a new edition of his work may not be unacceptable to you as a man of letters and an ancient borderer. It contains some lines on p. 138 relative to the Homes of Wedderburne and the Swintons (my own maternal ancestors) with a few others which were added since the quarto edition. I am ever with great regard, Dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

Castle Street, Friday.

W. Scott. (Wedd MSS. No. 297)

The lines to which the bard refers are:

"Vails not to tell each hardy clan, From the fair Middle Marches came; The Bloody Heart blaz'd in the van, Announcing Douglas, dreaded name! Vails not to tell what steeds did spurn, Where the Seven Spears of Wedderburne Their men in battle-order set; And Swinton laid the lance in rest, That tamed of yore the sparkling crest Of Clarence's Plantagenet. Nor list I say what hundreds more, From the rich Merse and Lammermore, And Tweed's fair borders, to the war, Beneath the crest of old Dunbar, And Hepburn's mingled banners come, Down the steep mountain glittering far, And shouting still, 'A Home! a Home'!" Canto Fifth IV).

⁶⁶ The following letter from Sir Walter accompanied a presentation copy of the third edition (1806) of the Lay of the Last Minstrel. On the flyleaf is inscribed "George Home, Esq., of Paxton, from his obliged friend, the author". The letter is:

John and William. They likewise assumed the surname Home. The elder, John, died without issue and the younger, William (b. 1782) married (1811) Jean, daughter of the Rev. George Home, Minister of Gunsgreen, by whom he had four daughters (Scotsman, Edinb., Sept. 1, 1891). The eldest of these, Jean (d. 1876), married (1832) David Milne, eldest son of Admiral Sir David Milne, G.C.B. Their son, Colonel David Milne-Home (1838-1901) became Laird of Wedderburn at his mother's death. He was succeeded by his eldest son David William Milne-Home (1873-1918) who left four daughters, the eldest of whom, Helen Margaret Milne-Home (born 1905) is the present proprietor of Wedderburn. Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain, 1926, p. 927).

This chapter of family history cannot be closed without reference to the succession to the peerage of Marchmont, which for nearly forty years was the subject of claims before the House of Lords. Even in America there have been attempts to make out a claim for the honours of Earl of Marchmont, and the other titles belonging to that peerage. Here is the story:

David, eldest son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, who died before his father in 1450, had two sons who married sisters, the two coheirs of John Sinclair of Herdmanston and Polwarth. The elder of the brothers was George who continued the main line of Hume of Wedderburn as already re-The younger, Patrick Hume of Polwarth, known familiarly as "Lang Patrick of Pollart", occupied a position of considerable importance in the country and was, inter alia, Comptroller, Chamberlain of Stirling, and Chamberlain of Fife and Kilmarnock. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander, as second baron of Polwarth, who dying in 1532, was succeeded by his son Patrick, who in turn was succeeded by his son also named Patrick. The son of the latter was Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, Master of the Household, Gentleman of the Bedchamber and Warden of the Marches. His son, another Sir Patrick, was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I in 1625. His son, Sir Patrick (father of Lady Grisell Hume

wife of Baillie of Jerviswood to whom reference has been made) was created a peer of Scotland in 1690 with the title Lord Polwarth, to him and the heirs male of his body and to the heirs of those heirs. In 1697 he was raised to the rank of Earl with the titles Earl of Marchmont, Viscount Blasonberrie, Lord Polwarth of Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw, to him and his heirs male whatsoever. He was a man of great prominence and suffered much for his adherence to the Protestant succession. It was he who formed the scheme to emigrate to America which has already been mentioned. His eldest son having died without issue, he was succeeded by his second son, Alexander, as second Earl of Marchmont. Alexander had studied law and been admitted to the Faculty of Advocates and was elevated to the Scottish Bench as Lord Cessnock in his father's lifetime. He zealously promoted the Union and raised troops to aid in putting down the Rising of 1715. It was through his influence that the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn escaped a worse fate. He was appointed Minister to the Court of Prussia, Lord Clerk Register, Knight of the Thistle, Privy Councillor, Minister to the Court of Denmark and finally First Ambassador at the Congress of Cambray. He was the father of twin sons, Hugh and Alexander, the latter of whom was M. P. for Berwickshire, Solicitor of the Prince of Wales, and Lord Clerk Register, dying without issue. The elder, Hugh, succeeded as third Earl of Marchmont. letter from him to David Hume of Wedderburn, eldest son of the forfeited Laird, is quoted above. He was First Lord of Police, a Representative Peer of Scotland, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland. His only son predeceased him so that upon his death, in January 1794, the peerage of Marchmont became dormant. (cf. Warrender's Marchmont and the Humes of Polwarth; Paul's, The Scots Peerage, Vol. VI, pp. 1-24).

The third Earl of Marchmont had become estranged from his daughter Lady Diana so that he left his extensive property to his sister Lady Anne, wife of Sir William Purves of Purveshall, Baronet, whose descendants possessed it until 1916 when the proprietor Sir Hugh Hume-Campbell, Baronet, sold it to Mr. Robert Finnie McEwen, advocate, father of Captain J. H. F. McEwen, the present owner of Marchmont. Lady Diana, the daughter of the last Earl, married Walter Scott of Harden whose son Hugh on June 25, 1835, successfully established his claim to the title of Baron Polwarth (of the creation of 1690). This peerage, which was not restricted to the heirs male of the first Lord Polwarth, is now held by Walter George Scott, seventh Lord Polwarth (succeeded 1914).

The title of Earl of Marchmont and others granted in 1697 were by the terms of the creation to devolve on the heirs male whatsoever of the first Earl. In other words, after the extinction of all of the male descendants of the first Earl, the titles should go to the nearest male collateral heir. The descendants of Lady Diana Hume, daughter of the third Earl were barred from this succession as being heirs through the female line.

The Earl's patent is given in full in Crauford's *Peerage of Scotland* as follows (page 313):

Gulielmus Dei Gratia &c. fecisse, constituisse, et creasse, sicuti per hasce nostras patentes literas, facimus, constituimus et creamus, eundem Patricium Dominum Polwarth, Comitem de Marchmont, Vicecomitem de Blasonberrie, Dominum Polwarth de Polwarth, Reidbraes et Greinlaw. Damus pariter et concedimus dicto Patricio Domino Polwarth, Eusque Hæredibus Masculis Quibuscunque, omni tempore futuro, titulum, dignitatem, ordinem, gradum, et honorem Comitis et Vicecomitis, cum universis et singulis prærogativis, præeminentiis, præcedentiis priviligiis liberatibus et immunitatibus quibuscunque eo spectantibus; cum quo titulo, honore, gradu et dignitate, per præsentes, univimus et inauguramus dictum Patricium Dominum Polwarth, ejusque hæredes masculos Comites de Marchmont, Vicecomites de Blasonberrie, et Dominos Polwarth, Reidbraes et Greenlaw, omni tempore futuro, designandos et appellandos, &c.

Thus the peerage of Marchmont and other honors that were granted in the terms of the above patent, devolve on the heir male whatsoever (that is, not necessarily the heir male of his body) of the first Earl of Marchmont.

If it could be established that the male descendants of Patrick Hume of Polwarth ("Lang Patrick of Pollart"), the first of the Polwarth branch of the family, have become extinct, the honours would under the patent devolve upon the heir male of the family of Hume of Wedderburn as the nearest male relations to the Polwarth family. To prove this has been attempted several times.

For half a century the Marchmont Peerage Case was before the House of Lords, and though not sustained is worthy of record here. Captain (then Lieutenant) Alexander Home, R. N.,67 grandson of Francis Hume of Quixwood, who as a rebel had been transported to Virginia in 1716, claimed the honours as heir male of the family of Hume of Wedderburn. On 2nd August 1799, Lieutenant Home was, by ex parte proceedings before the Sheriff of Edinburgh, served heir male of Sir David Home of Wedderburn (ancestor of the Earls of Marchmont as well as of the Homes of Wedderburn), and also as heir male of Patrick, Earl of Marchmont. This was five years after the death of the third and last Earl of Marchmont. Early in 1804 he presented a petition to the King, setting forth his pedigree, the creation of the Earldom of Marchmont, and praying that it might be declared that he had a right to those titles and dignities. The petition was referred to the House of Lords on 4th May 1804 and by that House to the Lords' Committee for Privileges. On 27th February 1806 Lieutenant Home's first case was laid on the Table of the House of Lords; but no other proceedings occurred. April 1808 he laid a second case before the House, praying that it might be brought before the Committee for Privileges on the 10th May following. Though the House acceded to his request the claim was not proceeded with. The third case, printed in 1820, presented a second petition to the King. It

⁶⁷ Called "The Old Commodore" by his son in his memoirs. He was the last survivor of Cook's memorable voyage. He was present at Washington's siege of Boston in 1776, was shipwrecked and experienced many other adventures. He was considered the heir male of the family and as Earl of Marchmont actually voted in the election of the Representative Peers of Scotland in 1818. He died in February 1823.

was referred to the House of Lords on 27th July 1820, but no application was made by the Claimant for consideration by the Lords' Committee. In February 1822 the Claimant presented a petition to the House, stating that the printed case upon his claim had been lodged in the preceding session, but that he had discovered additional documentary evidence upon his case, and desired to withdraw the petition, which the House permitted on 15th February 1822.

He then lodged his fourth case and on 2nd May 1822 the claim was heard for the first time before the Lords' Committee for Privileges, being twenty-eight years after the succession had, as he alleged, opened to him. Further proceedings took place before the Committee on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of May 1822. In February 1823 the Claimant died.

In 1837 his eldest son, Captain Francis Douglas Home (b. 1786) of the Army (who had served as a Captain in the 31st Regiment in the Peninsular War and been retired with that rank), presented a petition to the King. It was his younger brother, George (b. 1790), the fourth son, a Lieutenant, Royal Navy, who wrote the caustic Memoirs of an Aristocrat⁶⁸ already noted. The petition was referred to the House of Lords on 2nd March 1837 and evidence in support of the claim was produced before the Committee for Privileges on 20th March 1838, 18th June 1839, 19th March 1840, and 18th February 1842. On 26th April 1842 the Claimant lodged an additional (the fifth) case, in consequence of the unconnected manner in which the evidence had been put in. At this point Sir Hugh Hume-Campbell, Baronet, proprietor of the Marchmont estate by virtue of the entail made by his great-grand-uncle the third and last Earl of Marchmont on 5th November 1790, also lodged a case. Sir Hugh stated that "he had an obvious interest in showing that the Claimant was not the heir male of the Earls of Marchmont", for the Claimant had "also asserted

⁶⁸ Noteworthy not only as a bit of family history, albeit biased, but also for the account of Napoleon's surrender to the commander of H. M. S. Bellerophon, on which ship the author was a midshipman, and a witness of that event. Cf. also Shorter's Napoleon and His Fellow Travelers, London, 1908, pp. 3-52.

his rights to certain entailed estates as collateral heir of the last Earl of Marchmont" (Case of Sir H. H. Campbell, p. 1).

On 4th July 1842 the Claimant asked for an early hearing and in petitions to the House of Lords of 8th and 14th July 1842, referred to the petition of Sir Hugh Hume-Campbell. The latter was ordered to lodge his case before the 1st August 1842. This being impossible the House on 15th July 1842 ordered him to lodge his case before 1st December 1842. This he did.

The minutes of evidence before the Committee for Privileges were continued on 8th May 1843. In the words of Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King-of-Arms, "no inconsiderable amount of evidence was produced to show that the claimants had failed to account for numerous male issue of the family of Polwarth, whose descendants, if alive, would have prior claim claim to the dignities, and also to demonstrate that descendants of an older branch of the House of Wedderburn were not proved to be extinguished. The case of the claimant was in consequence not sustained." (*The Scots Peerage*, VI, p. 23).

The "older branch of the House of Wedderburn" mentioned in the proceedings of the case before the Committee of Privilege of the House of Lords was shown to be that of the descendants of George Hume, second son of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn who came to Virginia in 1721. The possible rights of the Virginia family in this connection are mentioned in many works on Scottish genealogy. For example Thomson says: "George, the second son [i. e. of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn], emigrated about 1722, and from him are descended numerous bearers of the renowned name of Home in Virginia, and elsewhere in the United States, and amongst whom must be found the heir male of the family of the Homes of Wedderburn" (Coldingham Parish and Priory, p. 210). Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain, 1926 edition, p. 917, in naming the children of the forfeited Laird, notes the second son thus: "George of Culpeper County, Virginia, where he settled in 1723 [should be 1721], B. 30 May 1697 [should be 1698], m. (postnuptial settlement dated 3 July 1728) Elizabeth, daughter of George Proctor of Virginia and died 1760 leaving issue. His descendants are settled in America and among them is probably the heir to the Marchmont peerage".

There can be no question that the eldest male descendant of George Hume of Culpeper County, Virginia, is the heir male of the Humes of Wedderburn. A glance at the chart shows this. He however could have no claim upon any of the estates of the family since his ancestor was excluded from the succession by Ninian Home of Billie when he made the new entail in 1733, see above. Drummond tells us that George Home of Wedderburn, son of Alexander Home of Jardinfield and his wife Isabel Home (daughter of the forfeited Laird) who therefore was the grandson of the Rev. Ninian Home of Billie by his first marriage, made an effort to find his relations in Virginia but was unsuccessful. "He could not find that he had a relation in the world except the descendants of his mother's sister Jean (daughteer of the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn). He accordingly executed a fresh entail, and learning by tradition that the family of Home of Kennetsydeheads was related to him though he could not tell how, he settled the estate on George Home, Minister of Ayton, and on his son, Rev. Abraham Home, as the representatives of the Kennetsyde branch. These persons he always treated as his heirs; caused the eldest to give up his church, and settling an annuity equivalent to the stipend, took the son to live with him; but a short time before his death he made a new settlement, and settled his estates on Mr. William Foreman-Home, Attorney in Berwick, grandson of his mother's youngest sister Jean, who had married John Tod who became Minister of Lady Kirk in 1790, and whose posterity are now in possession of the ancient barony of Wedderburn" (Histories of Noble British Families, II, Table B. V.). This George Home (called "Young Griphard" by the author of Memoirs of an Aristocrat) is very bitterly and unjustly treated by the author of that inveterate book. In his new entail he included Miss Agnes Stephens who, though not related to the family, had been adopted as an orphan and brought up by his brother Ninian, Governor of the island of

Grenada. She married (1819) Admiral Sir David Milne, G. C. B. (1763-1845), as his second wife but died without issue. The author of *The Aristocrat* hated her most heartily and does not spare her in his memoirs. The publication of this book resulted in an action against its author by Sir David and Lady Milne in which they were adjudged £1,000 damages, which, however, were never paid. "The Aristocrat" had by that time left the Royal Navy and held some obscure municipal post in Edinburg. It must be remembered that the distinguished family of Milne-Home of Wedderburn are descended from Admiral Sir David Milne's first marriage.

Drummond in his Histories of Noble British Families (II,

⁶⁹ He calls her throughout the book "Miss Nancy Skinnington Viper". In a manuscript of about 1830, apparently by James, a descendant of the family of Home of Houndwood (copy supplied by the late Mr. William Maddan of Norham-upon-Tweed), there is the following paragraph as to this lady. "The Medical person [George Stephens] who superintended the Department [at Grenada] was Miss Stephens' father, a person much in favour with the Governor [Ninian Home]. She was sent almost in infancy to [his brother] Mr. [George] Home's charge and lived in his house. His Aunt Mrs. [Miss] Jean Home left her about £9000 and a house in Edinburgh under the condition that if she did not marry or had no children, the bequest was to return to her children, as it was given for Miss Stephens' comfort alone, and not as the settlement expressly says, 'to enrich her poor relations'. After Mrs. Jean Home's death, Miss Stephens continued to live in family with Mr. Home at Paxton, and as she understood that he was making an entail of his estates, she solicited to be included in the nomination, to which he answered, 'I will do so, Nancy, but it is only paying you an empty compliment as a whole Troop of Dragoons, &c.' After this as Mr. Home's memory at times failed so far as to forget late occurrences, while former ones remained entire. This lady, taking this chance, modestly reminded him one day, that he had promised to give her the estate of Paxton. To this delicate reminiscence, Mr. Home replied, 'Did I, Nancy? I hear part of the World is pleased to say that I am become superannuate; they may well say so if I was to give Paxton to you'. I learned these things from Mr. Home himself. Mr. Home was, however, so generous as to make up his Aunt's legacy [to Miss Stephens] to £20,000, as a tocher to Sir David [Milne], and they were accordingly married but as Mr. Home predicted she never had a child". Miss Jean Home, here mentioned, was the daughter of the Rev. Ninian Home's second marriage, i. e., to Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn. Mr. George Home was the son of Alexander Home of Jardinefield, son of Rev. Ninian Home's first marriage. Jardinefield had married Isabel, second daughter of Sir George Hume of Wedderburn. Hence Miss Jean Home was at the same time Mr. George Home's half aunt and his first cousin. They were of about the same age. They were of about the same age.

p. 26) gives us the names of the six sons of George Hume of Culpeper County and further notes their descendants.

In the last century it was common for agents of unscrupulous attorneys in London to come to America and endeavor to interest various American claimants in pursuing their claims to mythical British estates. The family of Hume was no exception to this. Had there been a design to set forth a claim to the distinction of being heir male, as he is called in Scotland, of the Humes of Wedderburn, there could have been no objection nor indeed to a claim for the peerage of Marchmont. However, as every student of the history of the family well knows, there could have been no legal claims whatever to the estates of Wedderburn or Marchmont. Moreover even otherwise just claims would certainly have been barred by prescription (i. e. limitation) on account of the long undisputed possession by the owners. 70 Nevertheless we find that such ideas did in fact enter the minds of some of the descendants of George, eldest son of George of Culpeper County. Witness the following letter addressed to George Hume, Junior, of Madison County, Kentucky, the heir male of the family at that time:

Dear Sir:

I recd your letter some time since weh was dated the 29th of December last. I am happy to inform you that I & my family enjoys a great shear of health at this time. My mother is just getting out of a long spell of sickness. My father lies very ill but I hope there is no danger. Your friends in this part of the country that I have seen or heard of, are all well. I am happy to hear of your well fare of you and family tho certainly sorry to hear of our old uncle William's death [i. e. the writer's grand-uncle, fourth son of George Hume of Culpeper County].

You wrote me to inform you how our affairs stood respecting the estates of Wedderburn & Marchmont. It has been out

John Fraser against Lord Lovat. The claim was barred on account of prescription although there was ample proof that Mr. Fraser was the rightful claimant. A full report of the case is given in Rettie's Court of Session Cases, Vol. XXV, p. 603. In Scots law forty years undisputed possession gives prescriptive right.

of my power to give you such satisfactory an answer as you would wish, until of late. I will now inform you everything I know.

Last fall a Mr. Alex Dick came to Fredericksburg a scotch and British agent from Edinburgh near the estate of Wedderburn & is well acquainted with the estate. I was recommended by Mr. Rob^t Patton & other friends to make a friend of Mr. Dick. I have done so and directed him to make every enquiry about the estate & to give me the earliest information, which he has done. About 2 months past he complied with his promise. I received his letter directed to R. Patton and then He informs me he has made every inquiry & has to me. searched all the records for the intale. He cant find the Intale nor any one who has any Title to the Estate so much as the claim from this country, which Mr. Dick vearily believes from the papers I have shone him, that we are the heirs at Law and that we only have any right to the estates of Wedderburn and Marchmont. He writes me a Leftenant Home⁷¹ holds the estate in possession at this time. After the death of the last Heir in that country, no one to take the estate in possession, Parliament took charge of it until the right owners should come. This Leftenant brought in a claim against the estate as a great creditor and was suffering for his money. Parliament put the estate in his possession if no better claim should come. Mr. Dick also informs me the Leftenant will stand a suit before he will give it up, but appears to be willing to come to a settlement and divide, which Mr. Dick recommends me to do, tor we, nor our great grandchildren, if we sue for it, will never see the end of it. As to the estate of Marchmont he believes they will give that up. The man who held that in possession is dead and his widow now holds it and said if the right owner comes, she is willing to give that up.

All of the above is now for your consideration, and give me an answer to this letter, what I am to do and how to proceed. I have taken all the affidavits but three, which I shall take in

⁷¹ This is of course a mistake. At the time mentioned the Wedderburn estates were held by General David Home, son of Ninian Home's second marriage. He died in 1809 so that by the time this letter was written the proprietor of Wedderburn was George Home son of Alexander Home of Jardinfield, son of Ninian Home's first marriage. Possibly the Lieutenant Home mentioned was Lieutenant Alexander Home R. N., grandson of Francis Home of Quixwood, who at the time of this letter was a claimant for the Marchmont peerage, though he had not then claimed the Wedderburn properties. The subsequent statements in the letter are erroneous but the writer may have confused the matter with the Marchmont claimant's case.

ten days from this. When taking these affidavits, I laid the power-of-attorney you made my father before my counsell and Majistrates and it wont do. It only extends in the United States and no father. If you think proper for me to transact this business any further, you must make another power to me, stating the State you live in and county, and what part of the United States, your age, etc., and have the County seal to it, well witnessed and qualified before two Majistrates. If you think proper to do, get an attorney to do it, the best you can get, for every Hole will be pushed out before they will give it up. Mr. Dick wishes, if we think proper to have him do the business for us, he will do it and leave it to us to give him any part we please out of what is obtained, and he will doe for us as if he was doing for himself. I wish to send him a true copy of all the affidavits and a copy of the Power of Attorney; also the original I shall hold until I get an answer from him after he receives them, which will be next spring, if I can send on this fall as I wish to do.

All my papers are sent through Robert Patton and all I receive is through him and friends. Nothing more at this time until I get further information and hear from you.

Major Charles Barnes⁷² has promised to deliver this to you

or send it by a safe hand.

I subscribe myself,

Your friend and well wisher at command,
James Hume Jun.

October the 5th 1810

[Indorsed] Received this letter ye 8th of November 1810.

(Original in MSS. Division of Library of Congress).

The above letter contains a great number of errors, but in view of the lack of information available to the senior member of the family, living as he did at that time in Madison County, Kentucky, it is remarkable that any part at all is in keeping with actual circumstances. George Hume, Junior, in response to this letter, executed the following power-of-attorney:

Madison County

To all who these presents shall come:

Know ye that I, George Hume Junior, resident of Madison

⁷² Probably father or brother of Catherine Barnes who married James Hume son of Francis (second son of George Hume of Culpeper County, the first of the family in Virginia).

County and State of Kentucky, within the United States of America, of the age of fifty-one years, have constituted ordained and appointed, and by these presents do ordain constitute and appoint my friend Jumes Hume, Senior of the County of Culpeper and State of Virginia, my true and Lawful Attorney for me and in my name, to sue for and recover, to compromise and compound with adverse claimants, or to sell and alien by good and sufficient deed or deeds, the Estates of Wedderburn and Marchmont, situate and lying in Scotland within the dominions of the King of Grate Britain, and I do hereby give and grant unto the said Attorney, the full power to do and transact all manner of things relative to the premises aforesaid, as fully and amply as I myself might or could do, were I personally present transacting the same. And I hereby empower and authorize my said Attorney to constitute and appoint one or more attorneys under him for the purpose of transacting said business in the realm of Scotland, and such power so given or made, again at pleasure to revoke. Nevertheless it is expressly to be understood that I am to be at no costs or charges relative to the transacting any business under this power of attorney, except that which may be paid out of the aforesaid estates when they come into my possession, or what may be paid out of the sale of said Estate or Estates which I may have actually received the money that they have been sold for. And I do hereby ratify and confirm what my said Attorneys may do in the premisses as fully as if I were personally to transact the same.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 10th day of December in the year of out Lord, 1811,

at the county of Madison and State of Kentucky.

G. Hume Jr.

Teste: Christopher Irvine and William Rodes

(Cf. Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biogr., XX, p. 418).

The contemplated claim to the lands of Wedderburn and Marchmont apparently was not advanced at this time and with the death in 1816 of this George Hume no further action was taken until 1825 when his children gave a power-of-attorney to one Jeremiah Morton to act for them. A cousin, Thomas Hume of Madison Court House, Virginia, did indeed go to Scotland in the following year but found little comfort in this groundless claim. We have the following letter written by him immediately after his return to America.

New York, February 13th 1826.

Dear Sir:

I sailed from Liverpool the 21st of December in the ship Florida and arrived at this place the day before yesterday being fifty-two days at sea. As respects the business which took me to Scotland I now will inform you I have returned without prosecuting my Claim, to the Marchmont and Wedderburn estates as the right of Prescription is a complete bar to my claim, whereas forty years peaceable possession gives a right. The prescription will date from the time of the Death of David Home in 1764. The large amount of cash said to be in the Receivor Generals hands as was stated by Hopkins of London who gave the information, is false as there is no such officer in Scotland. He says he made the statements from hearsay. Those in possession have always received the rents and applied them to their own use. The Estates are said to be worth from 18 to £20,000 per year. You will please give my respects to all the family, in haste I remain,

Yours Respectfully,

Thomas Hume

P. S. I shall leave this tomorrow for Madison C^t House [Virginia] and expect to get there in five days. T. H. [Addressed] Mr. Stanton Hume, Richmond, Kentucky.

[Postmarked] New York, Feb. 13.

(Original in MSS. Div. of Libr. of Congress).

For many years no efforts of this kind have been made, for which those who are interested in the history of the family for its own sake, are sincerely glad.⁷³ Such claims would be foredoomed to failure. As before said, there could never have been any right whatever to the Marchmont estates which were inherited from generation to generation from the first possessor until their sale in 1916.

⁷³ The thought of an estate across the water to be had, as it were, for the asking, was too alluring not to have stimulated some of the real or supposed descendants of George Hume of Culpeper County, Virginia, to hope for its acquisition. Such hopes were sanguine in inverse ratio to the individual's knowledge of family history. Apparently after the fruitless journey to Scotland in 1825 by Thomas Hume of Culpeper, described in his letter quoted above, nothing was done until 1889 when an attempt was made by certain of the descendants of George

As for the Wedderburn lands, Ninian Home obtained them in a manner legal under the law of his time, and having possessed them, made the new entail as he pleased, and it pleased him to omit therefrom George, the second son of the forfeited Laird, so that none of his descendants in America have now any claim to them. So the senior member of the Virginia family must be content with being *jure sanguinis* male representative of Houses of Wedderburn and Marchmont.

Hume's eldest son to collect a fund to be used in furthering the "claim". No active steps seem to have been taken, however until 1901, when ridiculous accounts of an "unclaimed Scotch estate valued at £40,000,000 —the property of the Humes, a now almost extinct Scotch family" (N. Y. Journal of April 28, 1901, republished in the Kansas City Star, also a paragraph in the Kansas City Times of May 12, 1901), had the effect of inspiring a group of "heirs" living chiefly in the Middle West, to form a quixotic organization calling itself "The George Hume Descendant Association", on the letter-head of which were the words, "This is the George Hume we call the Emigrant or Scotch George, son of Lord George Hume of Scotland". Some seventy-five persons claiming to be descendants of George Hume of Culpeper County, as well as certain descendants of other individuals of the name Hume, met in Kansas City, Missouri, on July 31, 1901, appointed an executive committee, and began active solicitation for funds on behalf of several so-called "heirs", each of whom had agreed to divide with all subscribers, the profits to be derived from "the estates in Scotland, England and Ireland", as one circular letter modestly put it. The late Governor William J. Stone of Misouri was engaged as legal advisor, but finally, after much disagreement and the exchange between members of the "Association" of not a few letters filled with charges and countercharges, Mr. Irvine Miller Hume of Madison County, Kentucky, considered by most of the "descendants" to be the heir male of the family, accompanied by Mr. Thomas J. Hume of Kansas City, went to Scotland, where after a brief stay and the realization of the hope-lessness of his "claim", he returned to his home. Since that time no more has been heard of attempts to "recover the estate". Groundless though such claims, and long since barred by prescription (limitation), it is to be feared that the family of Milne-Home have been occasionally annoyed by them and by self appointed "representatives". It is believed that a better understanding of facts and appreciation of history will prevent such incidents in future, to the great satisfaction of all concerned. It is of course not intended to imply that some of those who have taken the steps above described, have not been honest in the belief that they had a right to properties in Scotland.

⁷⁴ It may not be denied that Mr. Ninian Home of Billie was "somewhat capricious as to the manner in which the sons of the deceased George Home of Wedderburn were to succeed to Wedderburn; for [in the terms of his Disposition of 1725] he postponed Patrick Home, the *third* son, to all his younger brothers, and to the male descendants of such younger brothers. In the Disposition of 1733 he placed Patrick

There is an hereditary honour in addition to the Marchmont peerage, which of right belongs to the heir male of the Humes of Wedderburn. In the sixteenth century George, younger brother of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn who fell at the battle of Flodden, went to France with his kinsman Robert Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, Marshal of France and, having served for a long time in the Company of the Twenty-four Gentlemen of the Scottish Guard (la Compagnie des 24 Gentilshommes de la Garde Écossaise), obtained from King Francis I, letters of naturalization under the name and arms of Hume in June 1534, all without losing his status as a Scottish subject. was registered in Dijon on November 13 following, together with the title of Count de Hume de Chérisy, he having acquired the lands of that name in Burgundy. By his wife (married 1531), Anne de la Boissière de Santigny, he had a son, Antoine, Count de Hume de Chérisy, Governor of Montbéliard and Flavigny, who married (1571) Martine Stuart, Dame de Quincerot, Censy, Jours, Sambourg, Vertamont, etc., and niece of Maréchal d'Aubigny. Their son was Jean, Count de Hume de Chérisy, Chevalier, Seigneur de Chérisy, Savilly, Montomble, Quincerot, Censy, etc., Gentleman in Ordinary to the Royal Household, Lieutenant in the Bodyguard and Governor for the Duke of Verneuil. He was charged with many commissions by Henry IV, Louis XIII, and the Queen Regent, his mother. He married (1596) Marthe de la Croix, Dame de Pimelles, Villedieu, etc. Their eldest son became Abbot of Molesmes and the title passed to the second son Charles-

Home in his proper position; but took no notice of George, the second son or of Francis, the fifth son" (Sir Hugh Hume Campbell's Case, 1843, p. 53). As a matter of fact Francis had died in 1732, and George, by that time, had been in Virginia for twelve years, so that if Mr. Ninian had become reconciled to him in 1725, four years after his departure for Virginia, his having omitted him from the entail of 1733 cannot be ascribed merely to his earlier "displeasure", as the record terms it. "Such supposition", continues Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, "was not altogether inconsistent with Mr. Ninian Home's character". Patrick, the third son, therefore succeeded to Wedderburn not as the "heir of line" but by virtue of this Special Service, being, in other words, "heir of tailzie and provision", and the same may be said of all subsequent possessors of the Wedderburn lands. (cf. Inquisitionum Retoruatum Registrum, LXXV, fol. 93).

Antoine, Count de Hume de Chérisy, Chevalier, Seigneur de Chérisy, Villedieu, etc., who was successively Colonel of the two regiments of Condé, Marshal of the Camps and Armies of the King, in 1652. He was Governor of Clermont and le Câtelet where he was killed in 1658. His wife (married 1635) was Marie de Sivry, Dame de Conclay, daughter of Guy, Seigneur and Baron de Villargoix, Conclay, etc. Their eldest son, Edme, having previously died the title passed to the second son, Louis, Count de Hume de Chérisy, Chevalier, Seigneur de Villedieu, le Val, de Fresne, Saint-Parres, les Minots, de Lagesse, etc., Gentleman in Ordinary to the Duke of Orléans (brother of the King) and Captain in the Bourbonnoise Regiment. He married (1680) Jeanne d'Origny, Dame de Saint-Parres, etc., daughter of Jean-Baptiste, Equerry to the King and Major in the Regiment of Bussy-Lameth. Their eldest son Charles-Antoine, a Lieutenant in the Regiment of Grancey, was killed at the battle of Luzzara in Italy in 1705. The second son succeeded. He was Louis-Bénigne, Count de Hume de Chérisy, Chevalier, Seigneur de Villedieu, les Minots, etc., Captain of Cavalry in the Regiment of Turenne; married (1719) Armande-Jeanne-Blanche Hue de Miromésnil and had a son, Louis-Thomas, Count de Hume de Chérisy, Seigneur de Villedieu, etc., Captain of Cavalry who married (1749) Marie-Elisabeth de Braque, daughter of Paul-Emile, Marquis de Braque, Count de Loches, Comptroller General of Horse to Louis XV. Louis-Thomas, Count de Hume de Chérisy perished on the guillotine during the Reign of Terror and, leaving no issue, the title became dormant, as there were no other descendants of the first count. Under the terms of the creation of the title by Francis I, the succession was to the heirs male whatsoever of the first count. Hence the heir male of the Humes of Wedderburn is de jure Count de Hume de Chérisy in the Peerage of France. (Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, X, pp. 863-870; Armorie Gén. de France, Reg. I, pt. 1, pp. 300-1; Mercure de France, August 1749, p. 191; William Forbes-Leith's The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life Guards in France, II, p. 225;

Petitot's Collection, 1st Series, XXXV, pp. 344, 401; Macdonald's Papers Relative to the Royal Guard of Scottish Archers; Michel Francisque: Les Ecossais en France et les Français en Ecosse, 1862).

So ends the tale. How strange the fate of families! What would Sir George Hume, the forfeited Laird of Wedderburn, have thought had, before his death in 1720, some power for a moment drawn back the curtain that veils the future, and vouchsafed him a vision of the vicissitudes and fortunes of his race? Even with the aid of such potent magic, he could hardly have believed that of his six sons, only the second, he who had stood beside him in the fight for the "green leaf o' loyaltie" and the "Bonnie White Rose", would leave issue; that this son, cut off from the heritance of his fathers, should, after many hardships, achieve a position of prominence in the New World and found a prolific and not unnoted branch of the family through his six sons and eighteen grandsons; that his eldest daughter should become the second wife of the man who had altered the succession to the estates and honors that had been inherited through an unbroken male line for more than three centuries; that another daughter should wed the son of the first marriage of that man; that though these two daughters should bear no less than seventeen children, their issue would not survive; that the forfeiture that had followed his conviction as a Jacobite would not, after all, deprive his descendants of the possession of his estates, but that the distinguished heirs of his third and youngest daughter should inherit his ancestral possessions, the succession falling to a woman no less than five times in the next two hundred years; that the heir male of his ancient line, a Virginia descendant of his Jacobite son, should, through the failure of two cadet branches of his house, become of right a Peer of Scotland and of France; that grandsons of his should bear arms, this time victoriously, against the successor of that "wee wee German lairdie" against whom, as Elector of Hanover, he had fought

with so little success at Preston; that the leader of that successful war should have been a former pupil of his disinherited son; and finally that martial fortune which in the past had dealt his forbears such cruel blows, striking down on the field of battle nine of the thirteen barons of his line, would yet smile on his posterity on the battlefields of France. How strange indeed the workings of Destiny!

L'ENVOI

Home of our love! our fathers home!

Land of the brave and free!

The sail is flapping on the foam

That bears us far from thee!

We seek a wild and distant shore Beyond the western main; We leave thee to return no more, Nor view thy cliffs again!

But may dishonour blight our fame, And blast our household fires, If we or ours forget thy name, Green island of our sires!

Our native land, our native vale,
A long and last adieu!
Farewell to bonny Teviotdale,
And Scotland's mountains blue!

The Emigrant's Farewell, Thomas Pringle.

THE END

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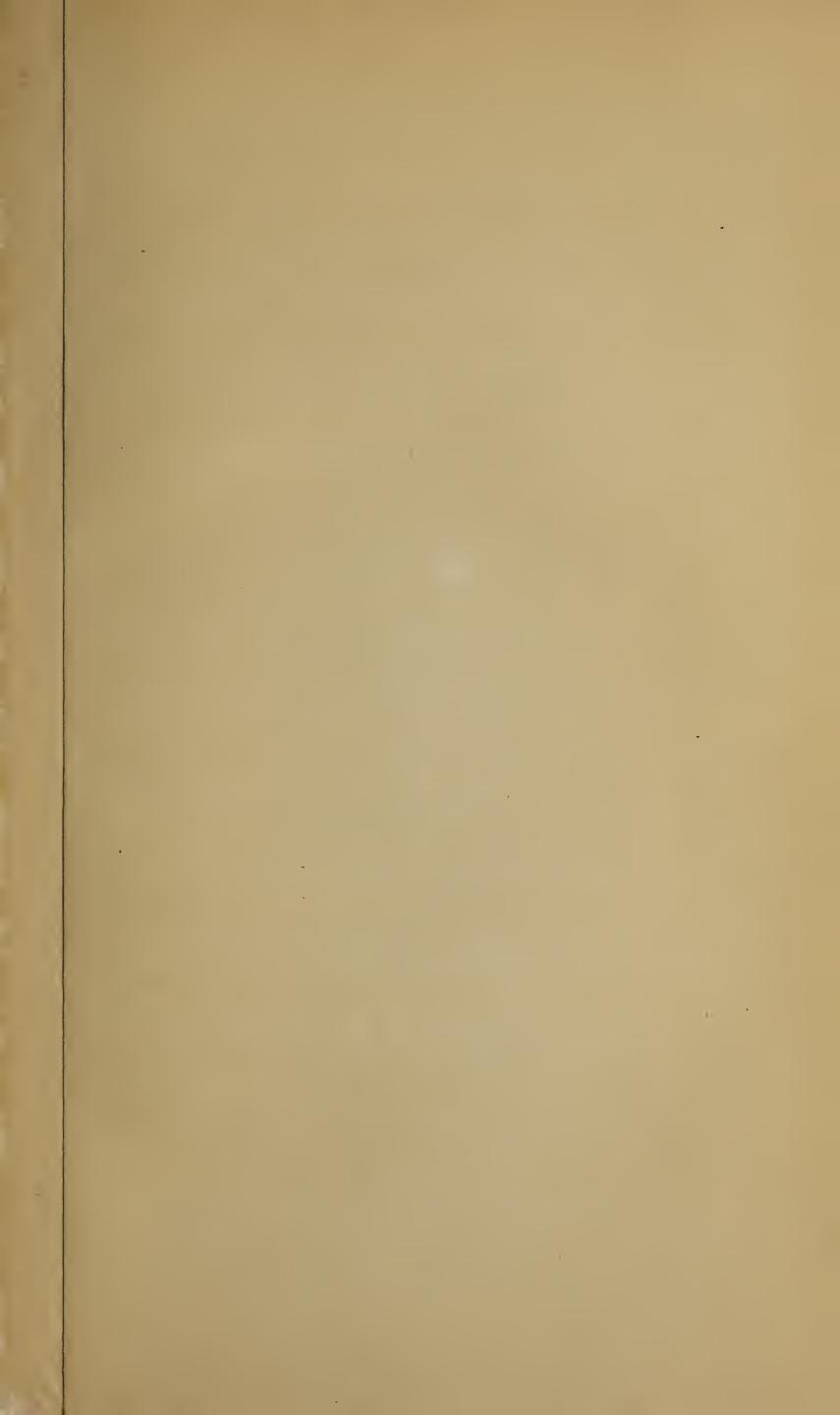
⁷⁵ These transcripts are somewhat inaccurate and incomplete. In this paper the copies made from the originals by Mrs. Sallie Hume Douglas of Honolulu, Hawaii, have been used in part. The originals cannot be now found.

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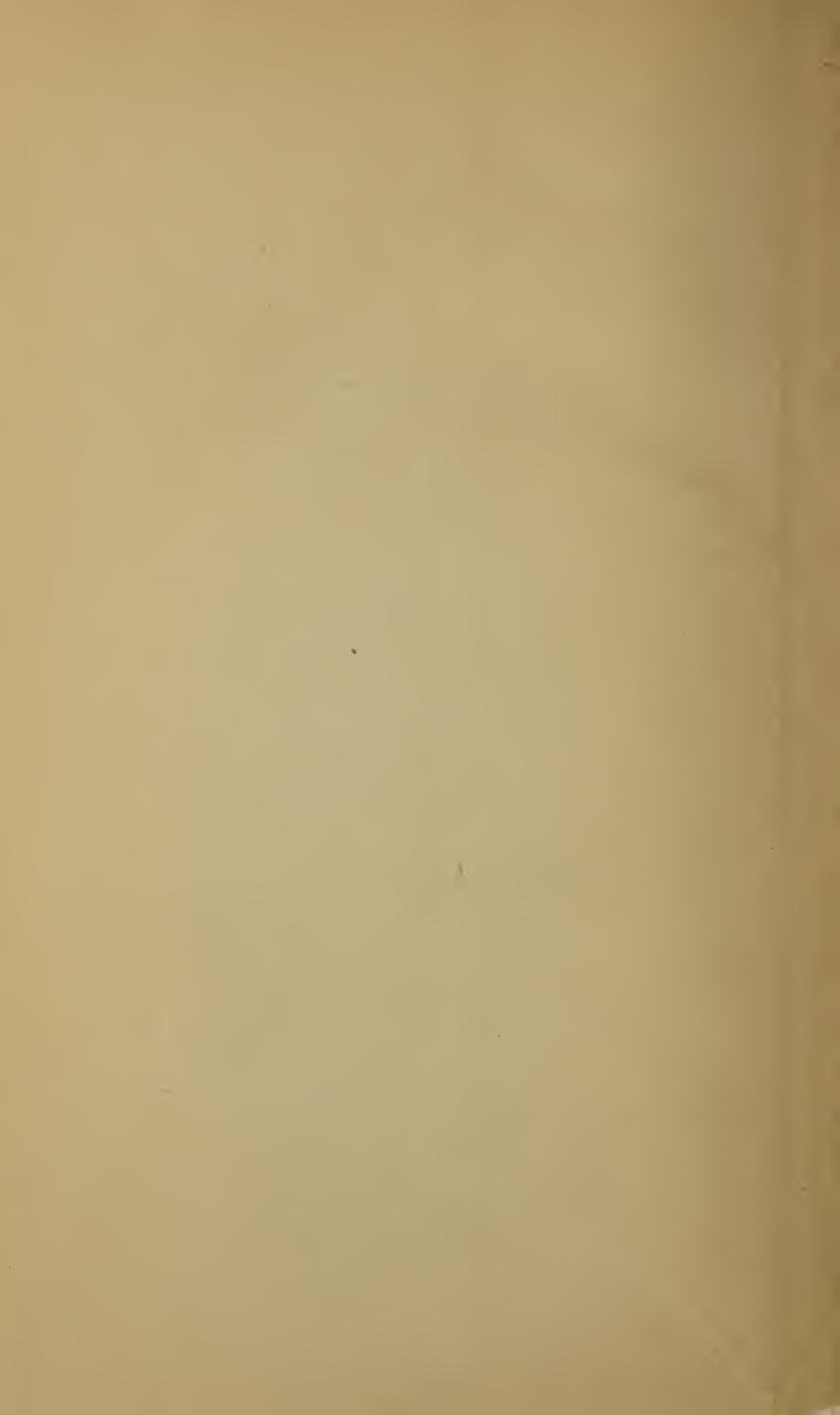
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